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*The Roles of Turkish Society in the Alliance of Civilization in
Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands*

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To my wife and son...

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

THE ROLES OF TURKISH SOCIETY IN THE ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATION IN GERMANY, BELGIUM AND THE NETHERLANDS

Mobility across borders in the information, technologies and internet age has increased both inter-civilization relations and the interactions among the members of these different civilizations more than any time before. As the mobility towards continental Europe through migration have started to change the demographic balances and as the European Muslims began to be considered as a threat after September 11, new debates came along. Islamophobia, xenophobia and anti-immigrant contexts have developed an exclusion and otherization into a political context and pushed the Muslim minorities into introversion and ethnic and religious ghettos. Some minority groups otherized and pushed out of system with the failure of multiculturalism policies gradually become affected by radical ethnic, religious and ideological movements. Reciprocal bias and distinctions in European countries threaten the social peace and cause societal tensions; and they are being used by nationalist and racist parties to establish a public opinion. The starting point of this research is whether the '*intercultural and inter-civilization communications and interactions*' which increased highly in the last decades will cause conflict or dialogue?

The Muslim Turkish migrants living in Europe as settled immigrants have faced several different problems since the first years of migration. Problem of integration has definitely become one of the most important topics of this struggle to be permanent in Europe. The background of criticisms about the minorities, including the Turkish migrants, that they could not overcome the integration problem, is consisted of the increasing ethnic/cultural ghettos and introversions. Muslim minorities include the Turkish society in Europe, which is criticized by media and the politicians in terms of integration, are mentioned with violence and terror which make difficult the integration process. Within this new integration process, during which the incidents of terror have strengthened the concerns against Muslims, radical elements began to appear in both societies. The increase of excessive and aggressive racism and nationalism with a reactionary or

defensive reflex caused societal tensions far from rationality and common sense. In many German cities, Turkish houses were set on fire and ‘*Turkish döner*’ shop owners were killed in a series of murders. These events show us where the tensions have reached. The question that comes on our minds at this point is what kind of a reaction Muslim Turkish society in Europe will give to these bias and attacks within the continental Europe which threaten the social peace. The reaction of European Turkish society both towards the radical ethnic and religious elements within itself and to those racist and far-right elements is the starting point of our research. In another word, this study aims to reveal the participatory and open to dialogue role of European Turkish society with its internal and external dynamics which will make the ‘*Alliance of Civilizations*’ approach possible at least in Western societies. Besides, the limited number of research conducted whether the European Turkish society has a tendency towards the violence-oriented radical groups or not makes this study current and unique.

In this field study, semi-structured interview and survey methodology, a subfield of qualitative research, has been used to collect data. This study was conducted on respondents with different socio-economic statuses from Cologne (German and Turkish: Köln) in Germany, Brussels in Belgium and Amsterdam in the Netherlands where Turkish society live intensely. With the help of a previously prepared set of questions, the respondents of interview and survey were asked a series of open and close-ended questions. Besides, with the help of semi-structured interview methodology, the interviewees were selected from prominent members of Turkish societies in terms of political, economic and socio-cultural indicators. Pre-defined interview and survey questions have been asked with the most objective and scientific method possible to the respondents and have been recorded to be analyzed later.

Key words:

The migrants of Turkish origin, Alliance of Civilization, Interfaith and intercultural dialogue, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands

RESUMO

O PAPEL DA MINORIA TURCA NA ALIANÇA DAS CIVILIZAÇÕES, NA ALEMANHA, BÉLGICA E PAÍSES BAIXOS

Na era da internet, da informação e das tecnologias, a mobilidade transfronteiriça aumentou as relações interculturais e as interações entre os diferentes membros desses grupos culturais, como nunca antes. Com as sucessivas ondas de migração para a Europa continental a alterar o equilíbrio demográfico, e com os Muçulmanos europeus a serem considerados uma ameaça, após os atentados de 11 de Setembro, começaram a surgir novos temas de debate. A Islamofobia, a xenofobia e casos de hostilidade anti imigração levaram essas situações de exclusão e alienação para o contexto político, provocando o confinamento das minorias muçulmanas em guetos étnicos e religiosos. Alguns grupos minoritários, alienados e excluídos do sistema devido ao falhanço das políticas multiculturais, foram gradualmente afectados pelos movimentos radicais étnicos, religiosos e ideológicos. A discriminação e as diferenciações tendenciosas nos países europeus ameaçam a paz social, provocando tensões que servem precisamente os propósitos dos partidos nacionalistas e racistas de influenciar a opinião pública. O ponto de partida desta pesquisa é questionar se “as interações e comunicações intercivilizacionais e interculturais”, que aumentaram drasticamente nas últimas décadas, estarão na origem de conflito ou de diálogo?

Os migrantes turcos muçulmanos instalados na Europa têm enfrentado várias situações problemáticas desde os primeiros anos da imigração. Problemas de adaptação tornaram-se um dos tópicos mais prementes dessa luta para a permanência na Europa. O pano de fundo das críticas às minorias, onde está igualmente incluída a minoria turca, consiste na afirmação de que elas não conseguem ultrapassar os problemas de adaptação, o que tem levado ao aumento de situações de alienação e de confinamento em guetos étnico-culturais. À reminiscência dos hábitos da sociedade turca na país de acolhimento, criticados pelos media e políticos como estando na base do problema de adaptação, acrescentaram-se episódios de violência e terror nas minorias muçulmanas, o que tem tornado o processo de adaptação ainda mais difícil. Esses episódios têm

consolidado o preconceito antimuçulmano, provocado o surgimento de movimentos radicais em ambos grupos sociais. O aumento do racismo e do nacionalismo excessivo e agressivo enquanto reflexo defensivo e reactivo, está na base de tensões sociais que ultrapassam a razoabilidade e o bom senso. Em várias cidades alemãs, residências turcas foram incendiadas e vários proprietários de lojas turcas de *döner* foram assassinados. Esses acontecimentos são reveladores do ponto a que chegaram as tensões. A pergunta que surge neste momento é qual será a reação do grupo social turco muçulmano instalado na Europa a esses ataques e atos discriminatórios que ameaçam a paz social? A reação da minoria turca em relação aos elementos radicais étnicos e religiosos, e aos grupos racistas de extrema-direita são o ponto de partida da nossa pesquisa. Por outras palavras, este estudo tem como objetivo revelar o papel inclusivo e de abertura ao diálogo da minoria turca europeia, com as suas dinâmicas internas e externas, que tornarão a abordagem da “Aliança das Civilizações” possível, pelo menos na sociedade ocidental europeia. Além disso, existe um número limitado de estudos que questionam se a minoria turca europeia tem uma tendência para os grupos radicais violentos ou não, o que reforça a pertinência e originalidade deste trabalho.

Neste campo de estudo, entrevistas semiestruturadas e metodologia de pesquisa, um subcampo da pesquisa qualitativa, foram usadas para recolher dados. O estudo foi realizado com inquiridos de diferentes grupos socioeconómicos de Colónia, na Alemanha, Bruxelas na Bélgica e Amsterdão nos Países Baixos, onde existe uma maior incidência de minorias turcas. Com a ajuda de um conjunto de perguntas previamente elaboradas, foram colocadas uma série de perguntas abertas e fechadas aos inquiridos, em entrevistas e inquéritos. Além disso, com a metodologia de entrevistas semiestruturadas, os inquiridos foram seleccionados entre membros proeminentes de grupos sociais turcos, no que respeita a indicadores políticos, económicos e socioculturais. Entrevistas predefinidas e perguntas foram colocadas aos inquiridos com o maior rigor objetivo e científico, e foram gravadas para serem mais tarde analisadas.

Palavras-chave: os migrantes de origem turca, Aliança das Civilizações, diálogo intercultural e inter-religioso, Alemanha, Bélgica e Países Baixos.

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As a Turkish citizen who has been living in Europe almost for 5 years, I had a chance to closely observe the dimensions of mutual communication and interaction between the European Turkish society and the host societies. European Turkish society has been subject to several academic studies in terms of integration, integration policies, participation and EU-Turkey relations. But, there have been very limited academic studies about the place and role of the Turkish society in interreligious and intercultural dialogue with its approximately fifty years of existence within Europe. The effect of extreme right-wing and nationalist reflexes that have been increasing since 2000s in Western Europe against the Muslims was not studied enough. Therefore, I believe that this comprehensive work, which reveals that the great majority of the European Turkish society has participatory, pluralist and dialogue-tended characteristics, will contribute a lot to the academic literature.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AABF	Almanya Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu
ADL	Anti Defamation League
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
AMGT	Avrupa Milli Görüş Teşkilatları
ATB	Avrupa Türk Kültür Birliği
ATİB	Avrupa Türk İslam Birliği
CBS	The Statistic Netherlands
CDU	The Christian Democratic Union of Germany
DİB	Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı
DİTİB	Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
EU	European Union
EU-MIDIS	European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey
EUMC	European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
FRA	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
GYV	Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı
HDV	Hollanda Diyanet Vakfı
IBDA-C	The Great Eastern Islamic Fighters Front
ICCB	İslami Cemiyet ve Cemaatler Birliği
IGMG	İslam Toplumu Milli Görüş
IHH	İnsani Yardım Vakfı
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISIS	The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KON-KURD	Avrupa Kürt Dernekleri Konfederasyonu
KRM	The Coordination Council of Muslims in Germany
OCT	Organizational Commitment Theory
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RP	Refah Partisi
SC	Social Capital
SDE	Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü

SIT	Social Identity Theory
SNT	Social Network Theory
SP	Saadet Partisi
SPD	Social Democrats
TAM	Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi Vakfı
UN	United Nations
VIKZ	İslam Kültür Merkezleri Birliği
WEF	The World Economic Forum
ZMD	The Central Council of Muslims in Germany

INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, the relations among different civilizations and the interactions among the members of these different civilizations have increased as never before. In our world, which is considered as a small village, it is foreseen that the interaction among people with different cultural codes and values will increase more and more. The paradigm that the increasing interaction among different beliefs and cultures will eventually cause a conflict is one of the most controversial arguments today. According to Samuel Huntington's (1993, 1996) paradigm which depends on conflict, the interaction among different civilizations will make the visibility of differences more apparent, strengthen the consciousness of civilization in the minds of individuals; and revitalize the conflicts and hatreds rooted deep in the history. Huntington gives the immigration of North Africans to France and the intolerance and hostility of French people towards this migration as an example (Huntington, 2006: 27). In European capitals where this religious and cultural discourse began to be accepted, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim actors of fear politics appeared. The discourse of the '*Clash of Civilizations*', which claims that religious and cultural differences cannot exist together, turned into a struggle to create a anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim public opinion within Europe.

Conflicts which gradually increased among the Christian and Muslim populations in Eastern Europe and Russia are the most obvious indicator that the ethnic and cultural belonging increased and revitalized. The isolation of Turkish and Muslim minorities in Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria and Ukraine with the effect of nationalist and conservative parties within these countries confirms the political targets of the '*Clash of Civilizations*' thesis. As S. Huntington (1993, 1996) foresaw, the '*Clash of Civilizations*' thesis is actually exploitation of several concepts (religion, culture and civilization) and then made acceptable under a theoretical framework as requested by the people who wanted to shape the world. Several political leaders, public figures, politicians and researchers affected by the events witnessed in Islamic countries and in the Western world have always put the threat of Islam and clash of civilizations on the top of the agenda (Esposito, 2002:

342). One of the most important arguments of those who try to define the future of the world in axis with '*clash of civilization*' is the separative and instigative role of religions. But, it is impossible to foresee whether religions would play a separative and instigative, or a soothing and unifying role in terms of conflicts. But it can be said that an inter-religious conflict is not considered as a realistic fact for the future. One of the main arguments to undermine the expectations for conflict is this: with the help of dissemination of education and mass communication, understanding the religion by its original sources has increased (Bulaç, 2007: 234). The understanding of each other by different civilizations' members, which are originally expected to polarize in terms of religious, ethnic and cultural identities, is rapidly increasing in the current information age. Therefore, a single civilization experience which ignores the historical conflicts and differences is far from determining the mutual relations. As a result of this, instead of otherization policies by beliefs, values and identities; unifying policies with a focus on common interest have began to become effective. It is obvious that common living places for people with different religions and beliefs have increased recently as a result of migration. This will help with the improvement of a culture of living together and the understanding and acceptance among the members of different civilizations will most probably prevent and/or decrease the possible conflicts.

According to many Western researchers, Islam and West are always in conflict. According to this, Islam is considered as a threat in three different ways; political, civil and demographic. Especially the works of Bernard Lewis (1990) '*The Roots of Muslim Age*' and Samuel Huntington's (1993) the '*Clash of Civilizations*' article published in Foreign Affairs seem to stiffen the Islamophobia of the West. Bernard Lewis' article handles the clichés of Muslim and Islamic radicalism together and explains that the relationship between Islam and West are determined by rage, violence and hatred (Esposito, 2002: 352-353). This approach of conflict has divided the Western societies into two groups in a short time and considered as a proof in Islamic world which shows the real intention of West towards them. Besides, some media channels and researchers in the West are in a tendency to evaluate Islam as a religion of violence and extremism. These people, who believe

in easy clichés and solutions, have considered Islam and Islamic awakening as a threat. In other words, these people have considered Islam as a single movement and as a historical enemy of the West in terms of belief and context. On the other hand, people in the second group who believe in the existence of arguments which would strengthen the peace between Islam and West have considered it necessary to move beyond simple clichés and prepared images and answers. Contrary to the people in the first group who react the conflicts and wars in different parts of the world with a cumulative approach, the people in the second group have a more universalistic view and they do not evaluate the world with bipolar contextualization. In our globalizing and interconnected world, both sides must act wisely and overcome the clichés by facing the truth. Today, as political and religious factors are becoming more effective, it is a must to consider the common interests along with conflicting ones. Even if the '*Clash of Civilizations*' is an open message which legitimizes conflict and war, global threats and wars in the future will be the results of economic and other interests instead of a clash of civilizations (Esposito, 2002: 371). September 11 terrorist attacks against World Trade Center and Pentagon have caused some to warn that a new conflict was about to arise between Islam and the Western civilization. The interventions to Afghanistan and Iraq after September 11 under the name of war on terror made it a must to make a distinction between radical Muslim minorities and the moderate Muslim majority within the Western world. In this struggle against the Islamic radicalism, it became obvious that the world of Islam was not a single civilization and that the Islamic radicalism was not in the essence of it. The most obvious proof that Islamic radicalism and religious extremism is not Islamic and humane at all is the rejection of it by the majority in the Islamic world. As an indicator of this, majority of the Islamic world did not search the reasons of massacre in Norway (2011) within the Western religious and cultural codes and emphasized the importance of dialogue. Consequently, Western world has to consider Islamic world as geography with multiple dimensions; whereas Islamic world has to give up seeing the West as a threat. The religious sources and universal humanitarian and consensual traditions of both ancient civilizations carry out messages relying on dialogue, not conflict.

A strategic approach which concentrates on the importance and seriousness of the differences among civilizations is one of the main sources of the '*Clash of Civilizations*' thesis. Approaches that consider the intense Muslim population within West as a threat are conflict-based and they show the differences and controversies between Western and Islamic civilizations as the sources of this conflict. Along with this, the radical acts of marginal groups which are considered as a threat to the West, including the adaptation problems of the Muslim groups, have brought the conflict paradigm of S. Huntington (1993, 1996) back into the agenda. The assumption that Islam does not suit with democracy and modernity stems from the paradigm which shows ethnic and religious sensitivities as the sources of a possible conflict. The increase of the visibility of Muslim population in Western world and the crystallization of a common understanding of civilization resulted with the perception of European Muslims as a potential internal threat (Esposito, 2002: 372). On contrary to this perception, rise of a European Muslim middle class and the tendency of new generations towards pluralism are indicators that the above mentioned bias and threats will be null. This new generation of European Muslims who defend the values of pluralist democracy which is the basis of security, stability and wealth and give importance to learn a language, education and participation narrow the effect of radical groups within Europe. Public opinion polls indicate that the Sunni Muslim groups do not confirm the terrorist attacks in the name of Islam and that they also react to the otherization of Muslims because of those terrorist attacks. Therefore, making the Western liberal democracy and pluralist lifestyle more apparent within the disadvantaged Muslim minorities would contribute a lot to the social coherence and cause religious-radical movements to lose their grounds.

As the migration in the past century has started to change the balance within Europe; unemployment, political polarization, radicalism and racism argumentations have been revitalized. The migration towards continental Europe within the last 50 years and the cultural differences of the minorities have become the sources of new discussions after September 11 attacks. The rise of racism in France, England, Germany, and the Netherlands and other Western European countries, Islamophobia and xenophobia have been expressed in more explicit

ways. Political statements which rely on ethnic nationalism and religious extremism that blame the Muslims as the scapegoats have paved the way to a serious xenophobia within Europe. On the other hand, the pressure of majority on the minorities in terms of life styles and values will eventually turn the cultures into static structures that will never change. Also, the perception of cultural transfer as corruption, degeneration and loss of identity by the minority groups diminishes the pluralist structure and harmony. In other words, the indifference of the minority groups to the language, history and the culture of the society in which they live in make the mutual interaction almost impossible. We can conclude that as the otherization implemented by the Western society to Muslims and other foreigners through Islamophobia and historical bias is wrong; so is the introversion and miscommunication of Muslim minorities and foreigners with the fear that they will lose their belief and identity. Justice, respect to humanity and the supremacy of law are universal values valid for everyone and they are indispensable for the wealth and security of every branch of society. Considering these universal values as part of a single civilization means to bind those universal values. The acceptance, respect and participation of the ethnic and religious minorities in the societies they live is the democratic assets of our modern world. Any threat on these democratic assets by radical, marginal and nationalist elements within Europe and within the minorities makes the pluralist coexistence almost impossible.

Concerns produced with the assumption that foreign immigrants within Europe could not adapt themselves into the multicultural cities make the intercultural interaction almost impossible. Also, the ethnic, religious and cultural minorities including the Turkish diaspora in Europe create spatial and cultural ghettos as a result of their fear and concerns; which makes the intercultural interaction even harder. It is seen that the necessity to live with foreigners has turned into a discomfort and uneasiness for some of the Europeans. On the other hand, mass communication spread with the help of technological developments and made the intercultural dialogue more visible along with the increasing interactions among cultures and life styles. In other words, the existence of foreigners and Muslims

with different life and dress codes visible in every aspect of social life causes many Europeans the perception of '*lack of space*' or '*they are being too much*'. If social exclusion increases for the foreigners and Muslims who have different physical features; prejudices, discriminatory behavior and conflicts will be indispensable between minorities and host countries (Barutcugil, 2007). But, we witness numerous multi-cultural societies in many parts of the world, including the Western Europe, with the amazing effect of globalization on social life. In our multicultural world, people with different languages, religions, races, habits, world views and traditional life styles have to live together, which brings many problems on the surface. We need a teaching and education system depending on knowledge and understanding to stop bias relying on lack of knowledge and wrong information and to prevent the socio-economic exclusion. Development of an open and pluralist society model would help to understand and manage the differences, which will eventually enhance the socialization. Besides, messages of tolerance and understanding by intellectuals, politicians, artists and clerics who are considered as role models by the young generations would also contribute a lot to the concept of coexistence.

In 1960s and 1970s, the first generation of Turkish immigrants living in Western European countries has organized on the basis of economic concerns. Second generation, starting from 1980s, had a structure of socio-economic, ideological and political organization, mostly affected by Turkey. But, after 1990s, the third generation has had a multicultural understanding that emphasizes intercultural dialogue, education and capital, diversity, differences and tolerance (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 132). The first generation of Euro-Turks, who were alienated by otherization policies and the capitalist system and left by themselves are today replaced with peaceful and harmonious new generations. One of the most important features of today's Euro-Turks is their adherence to traditional cultural histories, religions and ethnic identities. These connections with their Turkish-Islamic beliefs and traditions have helped the Euro-Turks to create a network of solidarity among them. Besides, these networks helped them to resist the centralist understanding as in the cases of assimilation, racism, egoism, isolation, distrust and structural exclusion. These features which keep the minority groups and

immigrants alive, strong and safe are generally considered as a threat to the European life style. According to Moch, immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries since 1960s have changed the ethnic and cultural mosaic of the Europe (Moch, 2003). But, centuries long local habits, national traditions and religious experiences are the factors which keep cultures and civilizations alive. It should be foreseen that different cultural and civilization elements are not threat, but rather factors that will strengthen the diversity of any cultural mosaic. Along with these cultural and traditional values; European values such as freedom, democracy, human rights, and supremacy of law and the experiences of pluralist society are being accepted and respected by the Euro-Turks (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 143). It is thought that the socio-cultural, economic and religious organization of Turkish-Islam tradition will eventually prevent assimilation and oppression of a cultural identity. This perception which rests on pluralism denies a Western-oriented perception of civilization and supports a synthesis with Western democratic universal values.

Muslims, including migrants of Turkish origin, are the greatest religious minority in Europe, constituting 4.5% of the general European population by 23 million. When we think that 8.7% of European population is constituted from immigrants, European Muslims are almost half of the all immigrants in Europe. This rate increases by family unifications, marriages and converting Muslims (SDE, 2011). The Turkish diaspora, on the other hand, is more populated than many European countries, with a total of 5.2 million in 27 countries. Approximately 53% of the Euro-Turks, one of the largest immigrant groups in Europe, have become the citizens of the countries where they are living (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; TAM, 2007). On the other hand, 2.4 million out of 4.2 million Muslims in Germany, 180.000 out of 650.000 Muslims in Belgium and 360.000 out of 1.1 million Muslims in The Netherlands are the Turkish migrants (Central Bureau Statistics, 2013; Pew Research Forum, 2010).¹ Unofficial numbers indicate that the Muslim Turkish society in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands is a total of 3.2 million.

¹ Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life in USA published 'the Future of the Global Muslim Population', January 2011. For more information, please see: <http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population/> (10.04.2013).

Recent crises such as economic deficit, racism and Islamophobia have caused many the Turkish migrants return back to Turkey from European cities. As the European cities which receive migration send the similar number of people back, we cannot speak of a serious '*immigration problem*' risk for Western European countries. Main problem that should be mentioned at this point is how Europe will fill the qualified workforces who return back to their home countries. Even if this is known, adaptation problems are always kept on the agenda with artificial contexts and political statements. It is of mutual importance for the qualified workforce to remain in Europe, as well as the establishment of necessary conditions for people from different religions, languages and cultures to live together. Instead of the strict immigration and adaptation policies implemented by European Union countries, it is almost impossible for the Continent of Europe to give up from the ideal of an open unity from different socio-cultural and religious groups. The Turkish diaspora, a certain part of the European societies for the last 50 years have made a great contribution to the European socio-economic, cultural, political and religious life. European Turkish society has a rich experience of culture and civilization will contribute more to pluralist and democratic culture of the countries where they live.

European Turkish society, which tries to protect its own national identity and cultural norms; has embraced universal values such as basic rights and freedoms protected by Western constitutions, human rights and supremacy of law. So, the close network of relations between the Sunni-Turkish migrants and Christian European societies has the dynamics which will make the participant Muslim identity possible. This network of relations that depend on mutual respect and tolerance will make an understanding, just, humanitarian, adopted and unbiased life style in third millennium Europe possible. On the contrary, European nations are being effected by some economic and political bias and moving away from objectivity. As European religious and cultural groups protect their bias towards each other and keep living within their own ghettos, multiculturalism policies are highly criticized today. As a series of terrorist attacks which started on September 11 in New York (2001) and continued with Istanbul (2003), Madrid (2004), London (2005) and Moscow (2003, 2009) have been conducted by radical and

militant Islamists, the social connections of European Muslims with the societies in which they live were seriously eroded. These terrorist attacks have increased the xenophobia and made the radical groups use these attacks as their justification for anti-immigration. Besides, these attacks have been perceived as a threat to Western life style with a certain religious and cultural norm and changed the perception of Muslims by their Christian neighbors (Moch, 2003). Also, as Pim Fortuyn (2003) and Theo van Gogh (2004) were murdered, the mutual relations have become tense around the terms of minaret², headscarf and veil. On the other hand, release of the movie '*Fitna*', in the Netherlands and other countries, which contain insults on Qur'an and Prophet of Islam and the publication of provocative and worthless comics about the Prophet of Islam in Denmark, have increased the hatred among Muslims all around the world. Radical elements containing violence, extremism and hate have disrupted the unity of the majority, meanwhile increasing the popularity of extremist right and nationalist front. Along with statements which increase the polarization, visual and written media have disseminated the perception that system was '*slang to be swindled*' by immigrants and created a xenophobic public opinion. Instead of all these negative acts and statements, we can say that a Muslim middle class is arising in Europe; trying to obey the laws, learn languages and act for the good of society. So, it is predicted that Muslim immigrants, representatives of Islam in the West, will contribute a lot to social peace, prosperity and wealth, by protecting their cultures and citizenship awareness.

The intense participation of third and fourth generation people of Turkish-origin living in Europe to the social, cultural, political and economic activities strengthens the '*intercultural dialogue*' grounds. Civil society organizations and religiously oriented movements provide numerous constructive contributions to the socio-economic and cultural adaptations of the people within their area of effect in EU countries which are living approximately 5 million Turkish Sunni Muslims (Yükleyen, 2012). It is foreseen that Turkey's possible EU membership

² With a referendum in Switzerland on November 29, 2009, 57.5% of the people voted for the ban of minarets. 400.000 Muslims live in Switzerland, which has a population of 7.6 million. Banning the religious and conscious freedom in Switzerland, which is ruled with direct democracy, caused serious discussions throughout the world.

will bring in more interoperability to the democratic reforms in Turkey and reinforce the participatory role of the Turkish diaspora within Europe. The Islamic identity of European the Turkish diaspora will establish a bridge between the West and Turkey, whereas the EU membership of Turkey will extend the life of this bridge. The Turkey-skeptics in Europe claim that the membership of a Muslim country will eventually diminish Europe's religious and cultural identity, with the excuse of '*fear of Islam*'. On the other hand, the project of '*Alliance of Civilizations*' under the auspices the United Nations (UN) with a co-presidency of Turkey and Spain since 2005 brings an understanding of mutual respect among different civilizations and cultures. To increase the functionality of '*Alliance of Civilizations*' and make it the most important peace project of 21st century depends on more efficient steps directed for action and result and a persistent struggle with fanaticism. We believe that the negative atmosphere created by the thesis of '*Clash of Civilizations*' which predicts that all the conflicts in the future will be culturally biased can be changed by the concept of '*Alliance of Civilizations*'. Actually, the statements of peace and dialogue around the '*Alliance of Civilizations*' project are reactions towards the '*Clash of Civilizations*' thesis. It is a must to create an area of application for intercultural and interreligious dialogue. We cannot theoretically claim that all the global problems will be solved through dialogue, but learning and teaching the coexistence with a practice will be the project of the century.

The guest workers of Europe are permanent, and this is a concern for the host countries. As the belief that foreigners with different life styles and dress codes cannot adopt into the host societies' living standards increased, the strategic importance of '*Alliance of Civilizations*' raised. The importance of intercultural dialogue will be better understood if the connections of 50 million Muslims living in the Continent of Europe with their homeland are considered. A possible conflict among European Muslims and Christian Western societies will bring two ancient civilizations to a confrontation. There are two elements which provoke the steps of dialogue: First, Muslim societies show more radical acts after they interact with Western societies. And second, there are some structural problems such as Islamophobia and xenophobia, along with racism and discrimination.

Conservative groups which show harsh reactions to foreigners and especially to Muslims with an ethnic and religious reflex must be relieved. On the other hand, European centrism must direct towards pluralism and the adaptation of foreigners must be provided by '*social state*' and '*dialogue*'. First of these two problems that Europe must face is the basic problematique of this study. The determination of radical elements which contain violence, extremism and hate within the Turkish Muslim community by data, the level of those elements and their potential threat is analyzed. This study stems from the point that radicalism and religious extremism is not limited to a single religion and even that it is not in the essence of religion (Esposito, 2002: 28) and focuses on the level of dialogue Turkish society has in Europe, instead of a tendency to conflict. The existence of the Turkish immigrants in Europe and the possible EU membership of Turkey are seen as opportunities which will decrease the tension between Islam and the West after September 11. Also, universal values such as democracy, human rights, social justice, freedom and supremacy of law are defended by the majority of the Turkish society. Therefore, these universal values must rely on mutual understanding and respect to contribute the development of permanent and constructive relations in the future. It is assumed that modern and participant generations which represent the Turkish-Islam tradition could play a very important role in the intercultural dialogue in the Western world.

In case of three sample countries³ in this study, it is predicted that the European Turkish society which gives the utmost importance to mutual respect, tolerance and social diversity will play a very important and dynamic role within the context of '*Alliance of Civilizations*'. This field study starts with the pre-acceptance that the European Turkish society is an appropriate sample group which is based on cultural pluralism and foresees that the Muslims with a Turkish-Islamic tradition will contribute a lot to the development and cultural heterogeneity of Western societies. One of the top priorities of this study is to feature the role of European Turkish society with its own internal and external dynamics which will make the conflicts, bias and polarizations ineffective.

³ Three Western European countries have been used as a reference in the field study. These are Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands.

Another aim of this study is to understand whether the European Turkish society will be a side to any reaction in the current situation where social bonds are eradicating, radicalization is increasing and intercultural differences cause many problems.

i. Problem Situation

Turkish people living permanently in Europe have struggled with many problems since the first years of migration. One of the hardest steps of this struggle is the adaptation problems with the Western societies. Increasing ethnic/cultural ghettos and criticisms about introversion are at the background of the statements that the European Muslims could not overcome the adaptation problems. Especially after September 11, Muslims in general and European Turks in specific have confronted a more global problem. As politicians and the media started to relate Muslims with violence and terror in addition to the permanent problems of adaptation, the process of harmonization became even harder. This new process has increased the concerns towards Muslims as a result of the terrorist attacks, and new radical elements appeared in both sides. The appearance and increasing visibility of an aggressive nationalism which acts by Islamophobia and xenophobia has reached to the level of extreme social tensions. The serious arson attacks against mosques, the Muslim houses and Islamic centres in most parts of Germany and the UK; and also serial killing of 8 Turks in Germany are all indicators of the level of threat by racist attacks.

Therefore, the basic problems of the ethnic and religious minorities in Europe, including the Turkish society, that stem from being in Europe and from their internal problems have become more apparent recently. Especially after September 11 (2001) Muslims have been related with violence and terror, which forced them to become introversive and ethnic/cultural ghettos. Also, a certain group of Turkish immigrants consider communication with the host society as corruption and loss of identity, thereby alienating them from the society. On the other hand, racist attacks and Islamophobia in European societies threaten the social peace, polarizing the society and nourishes fanaticism/radicalism. Ethnic

ghettos and introversion push the youth under the effect of fanatic and radical Islamists.

As a result, this study tries to investigate what kind of a reaction or development will occur among the Muslims as a response to these problems. In other words, the primary problematic of this study is the extent of effect of European Turkish society from the internal and external radical elements within and from the problems of adaptation. Second, the internal and external dynamics of the European Turkish society like civil society tradition, culture of tolerance, participatory role, improving socio-economic power, increasing level of education, pluralist and democratic society structure, adaptation policies, citizenship and social welfare implementations etc. and its role in interreligious and intercultural dialogue is the most basic problematic of this study. In other words, this study investigates whether the European Turkish society is open to ethnic, religious and cultural conflict or dialogue within the Western societies or not.

ii. Objective of the Study

This study, which is supported by face-to-face interview and surveys, aims to reveal with scientific facts whether the European Turkish society is an appropriate sample group for intercultural dialogue or not. In other words, this study aims to investigate the level of openness of European Turkish society to dialogues in socio-cultural, political, economic and educational areas. This study is important in terms of reflecting the opinion of European Turkish society, one side of adaptation problem, on intercultural dialogue. It is foreseen that the European Turkish society, which represents the rise of a Muslim middle class against the European societies which move away from objectivity under the effect of bias and political statements, can play the role of a bridge on the grounds of dialogue.

iii. Hypothese of the study

Basic hypotheses of this study, which focuses on the role of European Muslim-Turkish society, one of the largest representatives of Turkish-Islamic civilization in the West, in intercultural dialogue are as follows:

A. Integration and adaptation;

- Enhancement of rights and responsibilities in terms of equal citizenship will ease the adaptation,
- Civil society organizations with strong social grounds can produce projects and contribute to the solution of the problems,
- In parallel with the increase of wealth and education level in European Turkish society, the communication with its environment will be more participatory,
- Active participation of second and third generation of Turkish immigrants into socio-cultural, economic and political activities will contribute to mutual relations,
- Peaceful activities of religious groups/communities will contribute to intercultural dialogue,
- Common projects of civil society, scientific and business circles will pace the adaptation process,

B. Identity and culture;

- Cultural and religious diversity cannot be put as the source of a conflict,
- Immigrants who see cultural trade as corruption and loss of identity have a tendency of introversion,
- The cultural identity of Turkish-Islam cannot be together with elements of violence, religious extremism and hate,
- Turkish-Islam identity can represent the tolerance, intercultural dialogue and respect to humanity in Europe,

C. Conflict or dialogue;

- The European-Turkish diaspora will have a positive contribution on intercultural dialogue and peace,

- European Turkish society can play a very important and dynamic role in the process of '*Alliance of Civilizations*' project,
- European Turkish society has internal and external dynamics which will make the '*Clash of Civilizations*' thesis irrelevant at least in Western societies,
- Intercultural dialogue will help coexistence within a pluralist society turn into practice,
- Islam and Western civilizations should confront the radical elements together,
- Communication of Western societies with people from different languages, religions, colors and cultures will contribute a lot to the intercultural dialogue,
- Foreigners are considered as '*scapegoat*' in all parts of the world in terms of economic crisis,
- Possible membership of Turkey to the EU will strengthen the belief in '*Alliance of Civilizations*' project

D. Islamophobia, xenophobia and racism;

- The necessity of a more active struggle with discrimination, racism, xenophobia and religious radicalism in Western countries,
- Discriminative and racist attitudes towards foreigners with different life styles and dress codes harms coexistence and social communication at extreme levels,
- European Turks are highly concerned about the harsh adaptation policies and extremist right and racist statements in the last years,
- Struggle with Islamophobia, which polarizes Western societies and Muslims, is not seriously taken,
- Statements of hate in visual and written media increases the polarization,

E. Islamic Radicalism and Religious Extremism;

- Radical Islamic movements and ideologies are not supported by Muslim Turkish society in Europe,

- The language of hatred in media and on the streets feed the radical elements,
- Disrespectful acts towards the values and sacred images of a religion can be used for propaganda by radical elements,
- The efforts of radical groups in ethnic/religious ghettos to gain new supporters cannot be neglected.

iv. The Structure of the Dissertation

This field study consists of six (6) different chapters. In the introductory chapter of this comprehensive study, the demographic transformation of the European Turkish society in the last half century has been considered shortly with a focus on the sample countries. The introductory chapter has a general evaluation about the study where the aims, importance and hypotheses are mentioned. Also, the introduction chapter briefly defines the important concepts of the research and informs about the ordered structure.

The three theoretical frameworks that can explain the contribution of the European Turkish society to pluralist life and dialogue in the most objective and comprehensible way are evaluated in Chapter 1. These are *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1987), *Social Networks Theory* (Felmlee, 2003; Kadushin, 2004) and *Organizational Commitment Theory* (Kanter, 1972; Ebaugh, 2010). Also, the strong social relations and networks of the European Turkish society at local, national and international levels along with their contribution to the adaptation and social integrity are considered within the theory of *Social Capital* (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1988). Also, a literature review about the concepts and processes such as globalization, modernity, multiculturalism, pluralism, religious liberalism, identity conflicts, Islamic fundamentalism and clash of civilizations have been conducted. In the last section of Chapter I, the data accumulation methodology (semi-structured survey and interview), content of survey and interview questions and the demographic characteristics of the respondents (sample distribution by city or quota) were also mentioned.

In Chapter 2, the half century long development of the migration to the Western European countries has been discussed with the help of demographic data (generational differences, socio-economic differences, education, choices of citizenship and marriage, political participation and civil society organization etc.) comprehensively. In Chapter 2, the viewpoints and activities of the Turkish-Islamic movements have been mentioned in countries where Turkish immigrants live intensively to integration, assimilation, radicalism, democratic culture and dialogue with host societies. Also, Chapter 2 deals with the radical movements that appeared as a result of social and political realities in Turkey, and then transferred to Europe. Finally, Chapter 2 mentions the integration of Turkish immigrants in the sample countries in terms of multiculturalism, migration and integration policies.

In Chapter 3, the Islamophobia and racist policies of extreme right parties in Europe after September 11 terrorist attacks have been discussed specifically with the Muslim Turkish society. Chapter 3 also deals with the efforts of certain printed and visual media to create a “negative image” by affecting the Western public opinion through Islamophobia and xenophobia. Also, the changes caused by the interaction and contact with the Western societies on the Sunni-Muslim Turkish society have been analyzed by the concepts of globalization, liberalism, pluralism and post-modernism. Finally, Chapter 3 deals with the position of Turks in Europe in terms of the dilemma of reviving their identity and cultural values against globalization or losing those. Again Chapter 3 deals with the historical development of the European identity, its effects, European citizenship and the identity search of Turks as non-Western “others” in a broader perspective. Chapter 4 discusses the risks that threaten the intercultural dialogue and pluralism in Europe under main titles. The suggestions for possible solutions to minimize these risks are also being discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5 objectively analyzes the data acquired from the Turkish participants in the sample countries by semi-structured survey and interviews. After conducting an analysis of the demographic data of the respondents, the integration of Turkish society with the host society in terms of culture and identity is discussed. Third,

the level of understanding by the respondents about their individual and social rights acquired by democratic citizenship has been analyzed. Fourth, the socio-cultural integration of European Turkish society and life satisfaction has been analyzed by some data. Fifth, the political participation of Turks in the sample countries is discussed through some variables (voting rates, party memberships, confidence to political institutions, voters' choices etc.). Sixth, the contributions of Turkey originated faith and social based movements to intercultural and interreligious dialogue is discussed. Seventh, the role of the Turkish immigrants within the host societies in terms of mutual communication, dialogue and harmony is discussed. And the final part of Chapter 5 discusses the distant attitude of the Turks in Europe towards radical movements both from within and outside with some cases.

Chapter 6 deals with the open and participatory role of the European Turkish society, with the necessary internal and external dynamics to adapt the pluralist life, in inter-civilization and interreligious dialogue. Also, according to the data acquired from the respondents, the results of participatory development of the European Turkish society and suggestions for future have also been discussed generally.

CHAPTER ONE - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

1.1. Theoretical Framework

It is predicted that the Turkish diaspora will not take part in any kind of religious, ethnic or cultural conflict in Europe; and that it will contribute a lot to coexistence thanks to the universal values, dialogue, commitment and social dynamics within the Turkish-Islamic culture. We have tried to evaluate three theoretical frameworks in our field study, which may explain this prediction most objectively and understandable. *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1987) lights up the efforts of the members of disadvantaged groups to develop their social relations and to gain a socially accepted social identity. *Social Networks Theory* (Felmlee, 2003; Kadushin, 2004) explains the participation and adaptation of small subgroups into larger ones and global systems with the help of their social relations and networks. This theory which can explain this field study theoretically is *Organizational Commitment Theory* (Kanter, 1972; Ebaugh, 2010) explains the organizational commitment mechanisms which give importance to group loyalty and group strategies that motivate the individuals to create, grow up and succeed in a social group.

1.1.1. Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Social identity theory is a psychological theory which emphasizes the struggle of group members with a low socio-economic status to gain a social identity. It is predicted that socio-economically low and disadvantaged group members motivate themselves by joining socially active and effective high-status groups. For instance, as the socio-economic and political participation of a minority groups increases, so does its social relations with the majority group along with its representative power (Taylor, 1992). It is predicted that as subgroups have a higher level of visibility and representation at local and national levels, they tend to have a stronger social identity.

On the other hand, one of the most important aspects which reveals the personal efficiency and success of an individual is his ability to be a part of a strong social

group. Belonging to a superior group is very important for subgroup members in terms of gaining a social identity. Having a superior status and identity has a psychological value and emotional importance for the member of a sub group (Tajfel, 1978). So, reaching to a more prestigious social status for a member of a disadvantaged group has a psychological importance. Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1987) accepts that the members of minority group have the motivation to gain a strong social identity and status by improving their social relations, despite the fact that they are perceived as unimportant and negative by the majority.

This theory claims that sub group members have developed two strategies to gain a strong social identity. These are individual mobility strategy and collective mobility strategy. Individual mobility strategy explains the strategies implemented by the members of disadvantaged groups to enter into popular and respective groups by their individual and voluntary efforts. Collective mobility strategy, on the other hand, defines the strategies implemented by a sub group to gain more efficiency and prestige. The applicability of these two strategies to individuals of the minority groups and to ethnic, religious and social movements has been proved by many researchers. The existence of hundreds of civil society organizations, cultural centers, educational institutions (kindergartens, primary schools, high schools, institutes and universities) and media instruments which belong to minority groups in many countries, especially in USA, Europe and Canada, shed light to these two strategies. Individual sacrifices of minority members in terms of fulfilling the personnel and material requirements of these institutions can be explained by individual mobility strategies. Also the efforts of subgroup members to reach more members increase the social efficiency and gain strength can be explained with collective mobility strategies. If the individuals and groups of minorities are being discriminated by the majority, then individuals give more importance to intergroup belonging. Minority group members who face discrimination adhere themselves deeply into their groups and become a better part of it (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000). On the other hand, strong religious, ethnic and national identities of minority groups increase the choice of collective strategies (Gurin and Townsend, 1986). Determinant group identity within the

minority subgroups which is trusted and believed to be strong, has a feature which increases the dialogue and harmony in the relations with majority.

To summarize, ***Social Identity Theory*** gives us a perspective which emphasizes that the European Turkish society, with its identity stemming from Turkish-Islamic tradition is not far from the Western universal values such as justice, respect to human, supremacy of law, democracy and freedom of expression and it can easily adapt. This field study predicts that Turkish-Islamic cultural identity will not have any problems in integrating with European identity. It is predicted that Turkish-Islamic cultural identity will be a part of '*multi-identity Europe*' approach. Therefore, it is thought that the Muslim Turkish society will contribute a lot to the '*the art of living together*' in Europe when it accepts the libertarian, equal and liberal democratic values of the West.

1.1.2. Social Networks Theory

Social Networks Theory (SNT), is a theory that explains the interaction of disadvantaged sub-groups by each other and superior groups through social relations and networks at different levels. One of the main reasons of individual and intergroup interaction is that the relation format relies on individual and group interests. The network of mutual relations, constructed at socio-cultural, economic and political levels due to individual and social needs turn into more complex structures by time (Felmlee, 2003). Social networks born naturally in relation with the diversity of needs develop by themselves in time. Close friendship relations do not only help the individual to gain a social environment, but also provides the individual advantages in case he or she faces discrimination (Jagd, 2004). Development of individual and collective relations with members of higher groups by the members of lower groups in terms of visibility is because of the possible interests behind this motivation. Therefore, ***the Social Networks Theory (SNT)*** sheds light to disadvantaged minority groups' effort to gain legitimacy by creating strong and permanent institutional social networks in the areas where their interests take as a necessity. This network of social relations makes a positive contribution to the new immigrants and helps them to leave the feeling of

loneliness behind. Social relations network automatically starts the intergroup collaboration mechanisms and provides the new arrivals with help in translation, official writings and applications.

Along with this, *Social Networks Theory (SNT)* defines many forms of relationship as in family, friendship, working office, school and social class where individuals and groups will socialize. This network of diverse relations might provide the ground for a unity of beliefs, friendship or relatives group, a commercial unity or a social unity (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). Intra and extra group relations have a dimension of limiting the individual behavior, in addition to socializing individuals in different areas. Independent behaviors such as individual decisions, applications and setting new goals might end by becoming the member of a group. The location of individuals in the relational network and the inter group level of pluralism also determine the intensity of independent behavior. In this context, we can say that social relations network has a negative impact on disadvantaged minority groups. As the members of the minority group fulfill all their basic needs within the intergroup social networks, extra group interaction remains at minimum levels. These minimized social relations are normalized with contacts such as learning a language, getting a job, schooling of children and official bureaucratic processes. Today, we can say that except for the new immigrants, introversive parallel society is changing. It is predicted that the social relations network will be diversified as the individuals who were born, educated and work in Europe have become the majority. The network of social relations in every aspect of social life is one of the most important elements that guide the human life (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1988). For minority groups, it is predicted that social relations network will vitalize the cultural, economic and political organization of that group.

To better understand the social relations in every aspect of life, the concept of *Social Capital (CP)* has to be emphasized (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1988). According to J.S. Coleman, *Social Capital* is an approach theorized on a mutual benefit of relations among individuals and groups. This theory determines the success of individual and collective works which come together on a common

benefit. *The theory of Social Capital* is mostly interested in the success of social relations at economic level. At economic level, individual social relations such as establishing a business, gaining business experience, career advancement and getting the extraordinary knowledge have a mission of flash light. Social environments where social capital of groups and individuals are high help the establishment of social trust to be much easier (Paxton, 1999: 88-89). On the other hand, social capital of organizations or organizational groups provides a chance to diversify the activities at the highest levels. Therefore, keeping up a high level activity depends on an active interaction at commercial, political and social levels. The transformation of social relations of disadvantaged minority groups into a permanent and sustainable opportunity relies on the success of social capital.

On the grounds of *Social Networks Theory (SNT)* and *Social Capital (CT)*, the strong social relations and networks of the European Turkish society, implemented at local, national and international levels is predicted to contribute to adaptation and social coexistence. It is thought that the European Turkish society can contribute to intercultural dialogue and gain a participant, organizational and high level of life standard with the help of these Social Networks (Jacops, Phalet and Swyngedouw, 2004). It is expected that the civil society organizations and religious movements which are the most active a successful members of the Turkish diaspora (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003), one of the largest immigrant groups in Europe, will serve for social dialogue and peace.

1.1.3. Organizational Commitment Theory (OCT)

Research conducted by Sociologist Rosabeth Kanter on the commitment in American societies (Kanter, 1972) is still considered a classic in explaining the organizational mechanism which reveals the feeling of commitment in individuals (Ebaugh, 2010: 26). According to Kanter, the feeling of commitment is closely related with the success or failure of an individual or collective action which is nourished by a belief. Either individual or collective, the success of an action is dependent upon the belief of group members and their adherence of the values and goals of the act of which they are in. The high level efforts of individuals, their

volunteer time and material support can best be explained by the concept of ‘*commitment*’. Kanter (1972) was highly concerned with the reason why people have a commitment to a group which makes their benefits and the group benefits almost inseparable. According to Kanter, individuals who identify themselves with the goals of their group think that they are emotionally nourished with this commitment which helps them to express themselves. People committed with the feelings of belonging to a group start to see the success of their group as their own success (Ebaugh, 2010).

This study, in terms of ‘*Organizational Commitment Theory*’, named by the American sociologist Rosabeth Kanter (1972), tries to understand the strategies implemented by civil society organizations and religious groups of the Turkish diaspora to make their own members more participatory and committed. In other words, tries to understand the dynamics of tens of thousands voluntary people as members of religious and social movements which are practical elements of Turkish-Islamic tradition, that motivates them to embrace and like the countries where they live, learn their language, history and culture and to understand the value of coexistence. In sum, this study analyzes the adaptation of Sunni Muslim groups into the Western democratic and plural values without any identity erosion. Within this context, the reason of distance of Turkish groups to radical movements is also analyzed.

Finally, these three basic theories used in this field study are trying to answer these questions;

- What are the internal and external dynamics that provide the European Turkish society to embrace the democratic, pluralist and participant universal values of the West by protecting their national identity and cultural values in terms of *Social Identity Theory*?
- What are the facts which show us that the Turkish-Islamic cultural identity does not correlate with radical elements containing violence, extremism and hate under the *Social Identity Theory* framework?

- What are the reasons behind the organization of local, national and international scaled civil society organizations, cultural centers, thought institutes, organizational religious structures and media organs of the Muslim-Turkish society, which has been a part of Europe for more than 50 years? What are the *Social Networks Theory* mechanisms which explain the administration of organizational institutions that become more effective in creating a public opinion within Europe?
- What are the dynamics which provide the European Turkish diaspora the motivation to volunteer, support and become a sympathizer of socio-cultural, religious and educational movements in terms of *the Organizational Commitment Theory*?

1.2. Literature Riview

Since S. Huntington (1993, 1996) has explained the main conflicts in world politics with the paradigm of “Clash of Civilizations”; certain groups have started to expect a conflict between the Western and Islam civilizations. The intervention of USA to Iraq and Afghanistan after September 11 has been evaluated as the first signals of a possible global conflict and struggle by the same groups. Militant Islamist Jihadists have legitimized themselves with the economic, political and military policies of the West and implemented numerous terrorist attacks by exploiting the interventions of Iraq and Afghanistan (Roy, 2005: 161). Historian Bernard Lewis (1990: 47-60) and Alain Gresh (2005: 18-19) have indicated Islamic fundamentalism and fanaticism as a big threat for the Western civilization.

The thesis of S. Huntington which says that the future conflicts will be cultural has become so popular especially after September 11 and the following terrorist attacks. The terror events experienced on September 11 (2001) and after have surfaced the centuries long collective concerns about Muslims and Turks in Europe. These concerns have become one of the elements after the Cold War to perceive Turkey as the new “other” of Europe (Akdemir, 2013: 123). According to Fred Halliday (1999: 897-898), the historical fear of Islam in the West has been replaced with “anti-Muslim” movements. Therefore, the disaster of September 11

has both put the Muslims in Europe into a tougher situation and also challenged them with a new fact called Islamophobia, to which they were not prepared intellectually at all (Köktaş, 2005: 33).

After the terrorist attacks, the tendency to equalize Islam and violence has increased; and this made it harder to distinguish between the radical minority and the Muslim majority within the West. But, as in the past, religious extremism is a great threat; and it is not only limited with religion or something in the essence of religion (Esposito, 1999: 28). The belief system within the essence of Islam is completely contrary to religious extremism and radicalism; but Muslims as a whole are named parallel with violence and terror. The monolithic worldview that considers all the Muslims as responsible from individual terrorist attacks should be deserted. On the other hand, Muslims should also consider the West as geography with differences and diversities within itself. Because of the sources and real representatives of both ancient civilizations deny violence, persecution and conflict (Esposito, 1999: 7-8). Therefore, this study is built upon the idea that the modern and participant generations as followers of Turkish-Islam tradition can play an important role in the West in terms of building intercultural communication and dialogue.

The background of monotype, individual and fundamentalist ideas in Islam and Western civilizations that support conflict is the understanding of a closed society. The understanding of a closed society is the biggest barrier for the Western society and democracy today. In almost all of the polarizing, radical and racist acts we see the trails of the closed society understanding. But, different political ideas and ideals can only exist together in a pluralist political culture and in an open society. Therefore, the understanding of a multi civilization/cultural and open world order must be supported against the closed and monolithic idea of S. Huntington that divides the world into two, as Western and non-Western (Şentürk, 2007: 32-49). Intellectual circles have mentioned that the acquisitions of Islam as a result of its historical relations and interactions with other civilizations stem from the understanding of “open Islam”. According to these intellectual circles, the claim that an open and liberal Islam does not comply with democracy is not a

correct one (Özdalga, 1999). As Islam has recognized different religions in its first years, as there are several different sects and orders in Islam and as there are different laws for non-Muslims in Islamic societies; we can say that Islam was built on democratic pluralism (Akdemir, 1997: 269-272).

Multiculturalism is a model of thought which operates with the principle of cultural pluralism and which is built upon the principles such as freedom, tolerance and respect to individual differences. According to Frelas and Elliot (1992: 56-59), multiculturalism approves the social approaches that rely on ethnic/cultural differences and legitimizes itself by referring to the cultural mosaic of the society. Therefore, none of the ethnicities or cultures are superior to other in the idea of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism nourishes the tolerance and helps the identities build a relationship with mutual understanding and trust. In short, multiculturalism approves the unique identities of societies with different ethnic/cultural belongings, opens up space for all kinds of cultural identities and supports their protection in this area (as cited by Vatandaş, 2002: 19-22). Gerd Baumann (2006: 7) defines multiculturalism as a pluralist culture application refers to itself and others within itself. Baumann compares multiculturalism with a riddle that changes itself according to the meaning given by three different sides: ones that believe in a unified national culture, those search their culture in their ethnic identities and those who consider their religion as their culture.

When we look ethnically, we will see that the Muslims in European countries are diversified. Therefore, cultural pluralism, dialogue and open mindedness have become almost indispensable in Western societies in our age where ethnic and cultural diversity has accelerated. Intercultural dialogue is one of the most important elements used to turn freedoms, social welfare and tolerance permanent; and it has become indispensable for the minorities as a part of the Western societies. On the other hand, the understanding by the Western public opinion that Islamic radicalism and fanaticism is not widely accepted by the majority of Muslims is a result of reference to true information and righteousness. The establishment of peace and dialogue on the earth can only be moved forward with education, interreligious and intercultural dialogue, democratic citizenship, social

organization and pluralism. The common opinion about the harmony between Islam and pluralism/secularism/civil society is that there is no contradiction between Islam and civil/democratic pluralism (Hefner, 2005: 2-4; Esposito and Yilmaz, 2014: 29-33). Therefore, the existence of Muslims in Western societies as equal citizens at civil and public spheres contributes to pluralist and democratic life.

According to “new liberalism” interpretation formulized by Paul Berman (2004), Islam has to be liberalized and thereby harmonized with the Western norms or the liberal values have to be defended against Islamism. New liberalists try to determine new models in order to adapt the Muslim immigrants and they foresee two types of Muslim images in Western societies. These are the Muslim image who accepts the liberal values of the West and internalizes those; and the other one is liberalizing the Islam and becoming Western. Both models predicted by the new liberalists have inconsistencies. On contrary to the new liberalists who argue that Islam can be liberalized and become Western; Tariq Ramadan (2005) argues that Islamic religious identity and the visibility of religious practices do not consist a barrier for the adaptation of Western liberal values. According to Ramadan, ethnic and religious identity is one of the most important belongings for the individual and it makes them more consistent, powerful and respectful in individual and societal relations. In other words, it is predicted that individuals without a national, religious or cultural identity will become more introversive, isolated and less self-confident. Tariq Ramadan rejects the new Islamic understanding that is predicted by “New liberalism” and advises the Muslims to get rid of Arabic and Asian elements within their habits which are not Islamic; and to enrich their lives with prayer and spirituality. Therefore, it is an undeniable fact that the individuals who see themselves both as Muslim and as Europeans will contribute a lot to a pluralist society and to coexistence.

According to Beyer (1994: 90-92), conservative values such as obliqueness, spirituality and difference along with liberal values such as pluralism, earthliness and openness present two options in order to re-understand religion in the West. On contrary to the liberal understanding where religious life or performance is

taken as a base; conservative understanding represents the challenge of tradition to novelty and the effort to make religious life more visible (as cited by King, 1993: 33). According to M. King, the understanding of religious identity protects the society and the members of the family against crime, immorality and alienation; and it turns the Muslims into stronger and more interactive individuals both in their homes and in their work (King, 1993: 33-34). Kaya claims that the communities within the “European Turkish minority” that take religion as a reference do not clash with modernity and globalization; and argues that Islam and existing community tendencies might provide an alternative modernization practice. On the other hand, Islam rejects monotypes and monotony, and has developed an understanding in all societies that takes individual as the base instead of a class or group. Therefore Islam is a religion that takes the right and freedom of the individual as the basis and it is open to democracy.

Western materialist and positivist philosophy effected different societies in the West and in Islamic areas; which have gathered around the idea that religion is against modernity and progress. Some countries within the Islamic geography have assumed that the tendency to religion will decrease as a result of the thesis that Islam is against Westernization and development. But time has shown that modernity caused the diversification of religion and ideas; instead of institutionalizing the separation of religion and the state. In the postmodern era people are not forced by a religion or an ideology and they cannot be influenced easily. Today, societies like the American society have helped to collapse the idea that religion is against modernity.⁴ Today, on contrary to the fundamentalist and extreme interpretation of the religions; the interpretations on human rights, pluralism, democracy and modern values gain more supporters. The majority of Muslim Turkish society in European countries believes that Islam represents a religion with respect to justice, human rights, and freedoms, democratic and modern values.

⁴ Zaman Newspaper, Şahin Alpay ‘*Dinle devleti ayırmadan olmaz*’, for more information, please see http://www.zaman.com.tr/sahin-alpay/dinle-devleti-ayirmadan-olmaz_2263027.html (09.12.2014)

Today, religion is experienced both in America and in Europe. Religiosity continues to become globalized, even though it is understood differently in modernized Europe than the America. According to famous sociologist Berger (1993), religion has historically played a role of alienation and also integration (cited by Coşkun, 2010: 49-66). Recently, as technologic developments and supranational movements have accelerated, the inter-connection of religions and diversity of identities have increased. A period is experienced where individual and societal relations are problematized within the dilemma of conflict and dialogue. The increase of transnational migration, multiculturalism and gender discrimination appears to cause more argumentations between the public sphere and religious life (Casanova, 2006: 7-22).

1.3. Methodology

1.3.1. Research Model

In this field study, semi-structured interview and survey technique (Kaptan, 1973; Ekiz, 2003) as a part of qualitative research was used and data was collected from Turkish people living in Cologne (German and Turkish: Köln), Brussels and Amsterdam. The respondents were chosen from different levels of socio-economic status, demographic features and education levels. It was predicted that the independent variables such as demographic features (sex, age, occupation, organizational membership etc.) and level of education would contribute a lot to the general evaluation. Targets were chosen from age 15 upwards. Two different sample models were used in survey and face-to-face techniques. In the first one, one-on-one survey was conducted to the family members in a specific dwelling. And in the second one, random sampling (Kaptan, 1973) was chosen and random respondents were being interviewed indoor and outdoor. Dwelling visits were conducted after letting the people living in those addresses know.

Open-ended questions were asked to the interviewees with a pre-prepared set of questions (Karasar, 2003). People who were interviewed with a semi-structured interview and survey methodology were chosen among the prominent figures of Turkish society in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic areas.

Interviewees were chosen among the executive board members of Turkish civil society organizations, representatives of religious institutions and organizations or parliamentary members of different political parties; people who have high levels of culture and civil consciousness.

The questions that were asked to the respondents from towns where Turks are living intensely were asked by using quota sampling method, and they consist of 65 open and close-ended questions. Some of the close-ended questions have a section below, independent of the choices. Each survey that was conducted, either one-on-one or as a group, was predicted total 30-35 minutes. The respondents, without mentioning their names, were asked open and close-ended survey questions in Turkish. Survey questions aimed to find out the demographic features, identity tendencies, religious tendencies and intercultural dialogue and roles of European Turks. Therefore the questions developed for survey are prepared to measure the roles second, third and fourth generation of European Turks can take in terms of '*Alliance of Civilizations*'.

This study also used current national and international reports, several national statistical reports and EU reports as secondary sources both to evaluate the data and make objective statements.

1.3.2. Sampling and Universe

Semi-structured interview and survey technique was conducted with Turkish people from different socio-economic statuses living in Cologne, Brussels and Amsterdam where Turks live intensely. This study was limited to urban and rural areas of Cologne, where Turks as the largest ethnic groups in Germany live intensely. There are approximately 1 million people living in Cologne, of which 176.000 are immigrants and 36% of immigrants are Turks. In sum, Cologne was selected as a sample because it is believed that this city represents a good research universe for Turks living in Germany. Also, Brussels in Belgium is chosen as another sample because about 40.000 Turks are living in this town, which is 24% of the general Turkish population in Belgium. Amsterdam, on the other hand, has

a Turkish population of about 39.000, which makes it another important sample for this study.

Urban and quota sampling distribution of the respondents is in parallel with the regional distribution of Turks living in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. 110 respondents are from Cologne, 40 respondents from Amsterdam and 55 respondents from Brussels, with a total of 205 respondents in sum. Survey was conducted in sample cities' urban centers between June 2012 and June 2014 via face to face interviews.

1.3.3. Collection and Analyze of the Data

Pre-defined interview and survey questions were asked as objective and scientific as possible to the respondents and recorded for analyzing. The respondents were being told that this research was a scientific study. Interviews recorded by a voice recorder have been reported and evaluated objectively (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2008). I have had the chance to stay in the selected cities for some time and had a chance to observe. Therefore my approach to analyze and report the data collected was not as an exterior observer, but as an interior one who tries to understand the respondents' perception as much as possible. Cross-country differences in terms of semi-structured survey and interview data analysis were also evaluated with a comparative approach. The pure information collected by qualitative research methodology (Geray, 2004) was transferred to computer and the respondents' answers were analyzed and evaluated with the help of SPSS 15.05. Editing, coding and data controls of the data were conducted with a great sensitivity with the help of expert academics.

CHAPTER TWO - THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN EUROPE

2.1. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN EUROPE

Migration is one of the most important concepts of the modern world; and it is the name given to the demographic mobility of the agricultural societies which could not sufficiently achieve the transition to the sectors based on market economy within and outside their borders. Especially after the Industrial Revolution, the fast economic growth of the Western European countries increased the requirement in labor market. This caused a labor gap and temporary workforce agreements were signed with countries outside the Europe to overcome this problem. Within the migration movements from 1960s and 1970s from Maghreb countries, Turkey, North Africa and even from the Indian subcontinent; the Turkey-originated immigrants constitute the largest group. The one-on-one confrontation of the European nations with Turks and the interaction of the Turks by other nations as immigrants have happened through the immigrant Turkish workers who have gone to the Europe under visiting worker status (Manço, 2007). Turkish workers' migration to Europe has started in 1961 with bilateral agreement by Federal Germany, and continued in 1964 with another agreement by the Netherlands and Belgium; eventually continued until 1973 when the worker recruitment ended. From 1973 when the worker recruitment from Turkey stopped; until 1990s, Turkish workers did not return Turkey but brought their spouses and family members into Germany, thereby received a permanent position. Since 1990s, the second generations married to "imported" brooms and brides in a traditional way and have caused a new migration process (Timmerman, 2006). These choices stemmed from traditional and patriarchal family structures have by time transformed into more modern, individual and heterogeneous marriage choices. Generations born and grown in Europe have started to marry people who have grown within the European culture or people who are not of Turkish origin.

On the other hand, the political turmoil in Turkey during 1990s has caused the Kurdish and Alevi citizens to ask for asylum into Western European countries. Family unions, marriages from within and outside the country, new births,

asylums and illegal immigrants have caused the Turkish diaspora to become the largest group of immigrants from outside of Europe. Today, immigrants from Turkey in Germany with a population of two million and 700 thousand constitute the 75% of the immigrants from outside the European Union and one third of all immigrants. The sample group of this study consists of the Turkey originate immigrants in the Netherlands with a 370 thousand of population, and they constitute 12% of all immigrants. In Belgium, immigrants from Turkey with a population of 220 thousand constitute 7% of the all foreigners in Belgium, who constitute one fourth of the Belgian population. In Europe, when we include Greek citizens (The Turks of Western Thrace), minority Turks from Bulgaria and Romania and the Turks of Northern Cyprus, total number of Turks (including Kurds) within the European Union is about 5,6 million. On the other hand, in non-European Union member countries such as Switzerland and Norway, in following order 120 thousand and 17 thousand Turkey originated people are living. Among the 19 million Muslims living in 28 member countries in European Union, 30% are the Turkey originated ones. (P.S. Table 1) Turkey originated ones constitute the largest national immigrant group within the European Union (Pew Forum, 2011; Eurostat, 2013; Statistic Netherlands – CBS, 2013; TGNA-Human Rights Investigation Commission, 2009; TAM, 2006).

Table 1. List of the Muslim and Turkish Population in the European Union Member States (EU28)

Country	Muslim Population 2010 Pew Report	Turkish Population (including Kurds)	Muslim Percentage of Total Population (%)
Austria**	475.000	183.000	5,7
Belgium***	638.000	218.832	6
Bulgaria	1.002.000	588.318	13,4
Croatia	56.000	2.000	1.3
South Cyprus*	2.492	2.000	0,3
Czech Republic	4.000	1.700	0,1
Denmark***	226.000	60.181	4,1
Estonia	2.000	200	0,1
Finland***	42.000	6.500	0,8
France**	4.704.000	611.515	7,5
Germany	4.119.000	2.700.000	5
Greece	527.000	150.000	4,7
Hungary	25.000	1.700	0,3
Ireland	43.000	3.000	0,9
Italy***	1.583.000	19.068	2,6
Latvia	2.000	142	0,1

Lithuania	3.000	35	0,1
Luxembourg	11.000	450	2,3
Malta	1.000	53	0,3
The Netherlands	914.000	370.000	5,5
Poland	20.000	2.500	0,1
Portugal	65.000	250	0,6
Romania	73.000	70.000	0,3
Slovakia	4.000	150	0,1
Slovenia	49.000	259	2,4
Spain	1.021.000	4.000	2,3
Sweden***	451.000	100.000	4,9
United Kingdom*** ⁵	2.869.000	500.000	4,6
Total	18.931.492	5.595.853	3,7

Source 1: Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, the Future of the Global Muslim Population, January 2011.⁶

Source 2: Wikipedia⁷, Eurostat and Turkish Research Centre (Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi Vakfı – TAM), 2006.

* Taken from the reports of Greek Cypriot Statistics Office published by *Fileleftheros* Newspaper. For more information, please see; <http://www.philenews.com/> (22.05.2014).

** This is the data acquired from the official address notifications to the Embassies of Turkish Republic in the mentioned countries.

*** The data of the Presidency of Turks Living Abroad and Relative Communities was considered.

The European Turkish community with 5.6 million population in 28 European Union member countries currently represents three (3) generations. The “*blue collar workers*” who have arrived in the first years of the migration are mostly retired and some of them have returned back to Turkey. The majority of the European Turkish community is consisted of second and third generations, which keep living in the countries where there were born and grown up. Parallel with the socioeconomic developments in Turkey, there is a very low rate of return to the homeland and most of the second and third generations do not consider leaving

⁵ According to data shared by the Home Office of the United Kingdom in 2011, about 500 thousand British Turks are living in the United Kingdom. This number is included Turkish Cypriots (300 thousand) and the Bulgarian and Romenian Turks and the Iraqi Turkmens (50 thousand). Thus, about 150 thousand immigrants of Turkish origin (including Kurds) are living in the United Kingdom. For more information, please see official website of the Presidency of Turks Living Abroad and Relative Communities; <http://www.yvdk.gov.tr/ulke-3-birlesik-krallik.html> (20.05.2014).

⁶ For more information, please see; <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/jan/28/muslim-population-country-projection-2030> (21.05.2014).

⁷ Wikipedia, ‘*Turks in Europe*’, available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turks_in_Europe (20.05.2014).

the European countries. Even though the birth rate among the Turkey originate people in European Union countries is above the EU average; this rate drops swiftly. Therefore, comparing with the high rate of elderly people in EU countries, the European Turkish community has a younger population average due to higher birth rates.

The workers migration which started with the agreements signed by the Western European countries was at first built on “working hard”, “gaining a lot of money” and “returning”; which was identified with “*blue collar worker*” position (Abadan-Unat, 1976: 6). But, the next generations have eluded from the concept of “blue collar worker” and have directed themselves to numerous occupations, mostly led by the service sector. Especially the second and third generations of immigrants from Turkey have become active social actors and decision makers today, in the fiftieth year of migration. Especially the Turkish immigrants in Western and Northern European countries have created their own employment areas and have been establishing businesses in various sectors, thereby contributing to the economic employment of the countries they are in. Number of Turkey originate employers in Belgium is above 4.000. The number of people employed in these businesses is more than 14.000. Number of Turkey originate employers in the Netherlands is around 13.500. The number of people employed in these businesses has reached to 62.000. It is expected that the number of Turkey originate employers who contribute a lot to the European economy will reach to 120.000 by 2015 in Germany and 160.000 in all EU countries. However, even though the rate of unemployment in Belgium is 7%, it is 36% among the Turkey originated people. In Germany, the unemployment rate among the Turkey originated people is around 30%, as it is 15% in the Netherlands (TAM, 2006; Human Rights Investigation Commission, 2009). As a result, Turkish workers who have become permanent actors rather than temporary workers have a very heterogeneous structure within the scope of socio-cultural, economic, political and denominator issues.

Right of citizenship is one of the most important indicators for the minorities in Europe in terms of socio-cultural, economic and political participation; and it

differs in each country. In countries where double citizenship is not allowed, decreases are seen in the number of people who want to become German citizens. With legal regulations such as in the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden; the rights of citizenship were made easier, which caused the right of double citizenship and even promoting that has resulted with 60% of EU citizenship among the Turkey originated people. This rate is around 35% in Germany, which still has problems in accepting the ethnic and religious differences. On the other hand, the right of citizenship for Turkish youth who were born and raised in Germany was given in 2014; and this indicates that the year's long struggle was accepted politically and socially. The "*option model*" (accepted in 2000) which forced the Germany born immigrant originated youth between 18-23 to choose between the Turkish or German citizenship has been cancelled with the new law of 2014. With this new law, it is predicted that more than 90% of the Turkey originated youth born and raised in Germany will take advantage of this right. But, the lack of right of double citizenship for everyone is considered as an inadequacy for first and second generations of immigrants from Turkey.

Among the Turkey originated people who live in Germany, about 35% have the German citizenship. In the Netherlands, 27% of them have Turkish citizenship as 73% have the Dutch citizenship. Among the Turkish immigrants in Belgium, the rate is about 75%. Sweden is the country of which the Turkish immigrants received the highest rate of citizenship by about 80%. Approximately 53% of the Turkey originated people living in European Union borders have become the citizens of the countries they are living in (TAM, 2006; Human Rights Investigation Commission, 2009).

Especially in the first half of the migration, marriages of the Turkish immigrants with people from their homeland has brought together incompatibilities and conflicts between the spouses originating from cultural differences. But, the marriage choices of new generations are less traditional than the first generation and shaped with a less individualistic worldview. Among the other minorities within Europe, immigrants from Turkey are one of the minorities with the least rate of marriages with someone except their own ethnic/religious group. In the

Netherlands, where harmony is experienced the most, only 10% of the marriages were conducted with someone out of their own ethnic group (Avcı, 2005). The reasons of the increase in the number of marriages with different ethnic/religious origins are the transformation of conservative family structure, consideration of cultural harmony, advantages of language and the expansion of individual responsibility. For instance, the report of Dutch Statistical Office (CBS, 2006) says that 54% of the men from Turkey have married to a Turkish female living in the Netherlands as only 27% of them married with a female from Turkey. Same report also indicates that the rate of the Turkish immigrant men marrying the Dutch origin or other foreign originate women has increased by 10% in recent years. These marriage choices indicate that the number of “immigration marriages” by people brought from Turkey has severely decreased.

Participation is one of the most important parameters of adaptation, and it is also a prerequisite for someone to feel himself or herself as a citizen. Right of vote in local, national and European Union levels which is regulated by the laws is one of the most permanent tools for the ethnic/religious minorities to socialize. The increasing education level, socio-economic status, citizenship rate and social responsibility of the Turkish immigrants in recent years has accelerated the participation in decision making processes. The Turkish immigrants are one of the most inclined ethnic minorities to participate in decision making processes and they have gained many local assembly seats and also became deputies in national parliaments and in European Parliament. For instance, there are six the deputies of Turkish origin in the Netherlands House of Representatives consisting of 150 members, 11 deputies from 4 different political parties in German Federal Parliament which has 630 members and 6 deputies in Belgian Federal Parliament with 150 members. The people of Turkish origin who constitute the largest ethnic group Bulgaria have gained 36 seats in the parliament under their political party called *Movement for Rights and Freedoms* (MRF) in 2013 national elections for the Bulgarian Parliament. Movement for Rights and Freedoms has won 17.27% of

the votes for May 2014 the European Parliament elections and has sent 4 representatives into the European Parliament.⁸

On the other hand, the European Turkish society has a more common organization and socialization network comparing with other minority groups. As awareness about organizational participation increases, so did the social visibility and socialization of Turkish immigrants. New associations of Turkish origin, they appeared in accordance with social and political realities of Turkey since the first years of the migration, have become the most important base for the search of Turkish immigrants' identity existence in Europe. Semi and full structured organizations as a first step of socialization aiming to come together have contributed a lot to the continuity of the relationship network within the European Turkish society. As townsman coffeehouses in Turkey had the social function of semi-structured societal spaces in traditional societies like Turkey; in European countries this function was filled with mosque coffeehouses. The structured and formal organization of relationship networks was provided by associations or foundations established for this purposes both in Turkey and in Europe (Kurtoğlu, 2005). Therefore, we can categorize the associations appeared within the Turkey axis into three in terms of their organization in Europe; religious/belief based associations (including mosque associations), fellow townsmen associations and associations with an identity based activity agenda. No detailed analysis is made here as the categorical classification of this organization and its activity agenda will be evaluated in the next chapter.

2.2. THE TURKISH ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE

The birth and development of Islamic movement is directly related with the socio-economic, political and legal inadequacies and inequities in the countries and regions they are. Elements such as poverty, ignorance, class caste, oppression and ideological dominance which differ in each society have accelerated the development of belief-based movements. Therefore, it can be said that the development of civil religious movements can exist within the limits and scope of

⁸ Results of the 2014 European Parliament elections are available at <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/country-results-bg-2014.html> (05.06.2014).

existing governments and administrations. In other words, we can easily say that the religious movements in some Muslim countries ruled by centralized and oppressive regimes could not develop sufficiently. In some Muslim countries where civil religious movements could not find a space of freedom, a social order which could maintain social pluralism could not be set. As in cases of problematic and fragile democracy countries Turkey and Egypt, religion-based movements that achieve financial freedom in social services and cooperation have most of the time confronted by official state ideology and military bureaucracy. Strong political and military authorities in some Muslim countries are using the public resources and harm the objectivity, legality and civilized structure of the civil movements in accordance with their political and ideological interests. Therefore, the official state power that dominates and oppresses a certain ideology, certainly prevent the social and religious diversity in Muslim countries.⁹ Along with this, radical Islamic movements in Muslim countries and the terrorist activities conducted by those have made Islam to be considered by violence and terror today. This heavy burden on the shoulders of Islam and believers of this religion can only be overcome by a new approach that will show the real face of Islam and defend democratic pluralism, human rights, religious and conscience freedom. As a result, belief based movements that appeared in Muslim countries and contributed to peace and dialogue at global level, and the values they created will minimize the uniformity and polarization that modern civilizations will face.

Islam has brought many different opinions and understandings about the individuals and the societies' religious, economic and social life. Islam has brought a civilian religious understanding and consistently emphasized justice, consultation and pluralism in order to settle social stability and peace. Therefore, the claims in Western thinkers such as Daniel (1987), such as "*Islam is not pro-change, prevents progress, it does not promote development and is a religion of*

⁹ The definition of "*Muslim countries*" which is used in many parts of this study is, as Weller (2002) defines, the countries of which the government types are not Islamic, but of which the population is predominantly Muslim. The definition of "*Islamic countries*" was not preferred as it means that the government type is Islamic. This study also reveals some determinations on Islam and Western civilizations; and his definition of "*Muslim countries*" makes it easier to understand the general issue.

underdeveloped societies” are considered as one-sided and away from sociological religious facts (Okumuş, 2009: 332). Belief based movements that refer to Islamic resources which promote progress, science and development will definitely contribute to societal change and peace both within the Islamic world and outside of it. Also, the developments at international level with the help of globalization in the last fifty years have increased the efficiency and roles of civil actors in Muslim societies. Ethnic, socio-cultural, religious and political movements that do not represent the official ideology and policy of the nation states have started to undertake extended roles at national and international levels. Civil groups which operate in several areas such as education, aid, environment, religion, economy and media are battling local, national or global scale problems according to their budget and human resources. These groups play an important role in issues where the Turkish immigrants and the ethnic, religious and socio-cultural movements as their representatives are ineffective with various reasons. The forefront methodologies of these civil movements are the feeling of responsibility that depends on voluntarism and the low cost workforce employment.

On the other hand, the democratic and free culture of the Europe has increased the ability of civil movements that belong to the minority groups’ skills of organizing and activity building. In parallel with the expansion of responsibility areas of minority originated civil movements; their capacity of activity has also increased and local/national governments have started to address them and asked their opinion. Today, the religious movements which are Turkey originate establish public opinion and play successful roles in effecting the decisions and behavior of the countries in which they live. It is seen that the social and religious movements can easily mobilize their grounds in terms of public opinion building. One of the areas that the Turkish civil movements in Europe are most successful at are the activities in socio-cultural and humanitarian aid issues. Organized social and religious movements that come from Turkish-Islamic tradition are financially supported by many businessmen and private foundations.

In this chapter, instead of considering the Turkish-Islamic movements more comprehensively; the perceptions of these movements about assimilation, radicalism, democracy and coexistence and their activities on these issues will be handled. Within this context, the *Gülen Movement*, which has a global impact area with its education and dialogue activities, will first be evaluated in terms of the activity agenda it has that is related with the Turkish diaspora in Europe. Secondly, *the National Viewpoint Movement (Milli Görüş)*, a political Islamic movement based in Turkey, will be evaluated by its activity within Europe. Third, the *Süleymanî* community that emphasizes on the cultivation of moral, educated and religious generations based on Qur'an education will be evaluated. This chapter will also deal with the *Nurcular*, known as 'the Epistles of Light' in terms of their activities with prescripts, consultancy and religious oriented ones. Besides, *the Turkish Islamic Union of the Religious Affairs Directorate (DİTİB)* which is responsible for the Republic of Turkey's official religious services in Europe will be handled in terms of its activity agenda. Finally, the Alevism, a unique interpretation of Islam, will be dealt with in terms of the activities of *the Federations of Alevi Organizations in Germany (AABF)* and *Cem Foundation (Cem Vakfı)*.

2.2.1. THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT (HİZMET MOVEMENT)

'*Radical Islamism*' that appeared in Islamic societies as a reaction to oppressions and attacks on Islam and Muslims and '*the political Islam*' that was built on anti-Westernism are criticized by Muslims after a century long process. The rise and visibility of more moderate social and religious movements with non-violent attitudes against Islamic radicalism show the changing faces of the Islamic societies. Against the political Islamism which defines itself with the harsh reactions towards West and Westernism, the new generation of Islamic movements has a positive attitude towards the universal and Western values such as basic rights and freedoms, human rights and supremacy of law. According to the American sociologist Helen Rose Ebaugh, one of these new generation movements is the Gülen Movement; which has at first grown in Turkey and then spread to Europe, Australia, Canada, Africa and United States of America after

the dissolution of Soviet Union. The person who inspired this movement is the Muslim scholar and retired Imam Fethullah Gülen, who has been living in USA since 1999. According to the sociologist Ebaugh the term of “*moderate Islam*”¹⁰ which wants to live with people from other beliefs, supports democracy and freedom of expression with respect to beliefs and that condemns usage of violence in the name of Islam is openly represented by the Gülen Movement (Ebaugh, 2010: 18-19). The spiritual leader of this organization which is also known as the Gülen Movement, Fethullah Gülen, received the education of the Ulama tradition that carried the cultural heritage of Islam for centuries and he is a person who witnessed the radical transformations of the modern ages with a deep spiritual and social identity. Besides the religious identity of Gülen Movement, when we look at the structural characteristics it gained globally, we can say that the movement has a very wide socio-cultural identity and vision (Ergene, 2005: 12-17).

One of the most obvious characteristics that makes Fethullah Gülen distinctive in Islam geography is his opinion that building a bridge between Islam world and the Western world is a necessity and his permanent activities to achieve this. Gülen defends that the intellectual and cultural convergence between the Ottoman Empire and the West in nineteenth century (Abu-Rabi and Sevindi, 2008) should be continued with modern education and bridges of dialogue. Today, it is an indispensable fact that the multi religious, multi linguistic, multi ethnic and colorful society model in Europe could only survive with a solid dialogue that relies on mutual respect and understanding. At this point, Fethullah Gülen insists that building a dialogue worldwide which depends on mutual understanding, investigating new ways of dialogue that will reverse the image of Muslims at global level, rising new generations that will show the real face of Islam and

¹⁰ Fethullah Gülen does not find it right that his opinions reflected in his speeches to be considered as “moderate Islam”. According to Gülen, Islam is by itself a moderate religion. On the contrary, *New York Times* in 2008 has published an article about the Gülen schools in Pakistan. In this article it is stated that these schools “*with a moderate and flexible, and content with existing together by the West*” perception, have delivered a “*moderate Islam*” (Ebaugh, 2010: 19-20). Even though Fethullah Gülen does not consider it correct that the movement mentioned with his name and his world of ideas named as “moderate”, the Western media has already started using this term for him and his movement.

contacting people all over the world is very important (Abu-Rabi and Sevindi, 2008). On the other hand, Fethullah Gülen considers education as a process of perfection and believes that the ideal type of person can reach to the necessary level of maturity only by educating of science, humanity and religion (Aslandoğan and Çetin, 2006). According to Gülen, the basic source of all the problems on the earth is the human being, and the solutions to these problems can only be possible by raising the human beings into the horizon of virtuous person. Therefore, building a society with virtuous people and solving the social problems can only be possible with education, social and cultural ways (Gülen, 2014).¹¹ The synthesis of the modern values and the moral principles of Islam by the Muslim generations who are more visible in Europe today is in parallel with the belief of Gülen that religion and science and coexist.

Fethullah Gülen is the inspiration for the movement that is called by his name and also is known as the architect of education and dialogue activities. Gülen emphasizes science with a harmony of mind and conscience and a modernization which is respectful to the religion; and is considered as one of the religious figures who gives the utmost importance to intercultural and interreligious dialogue in Islamic world. *The Journalists and Writers Foundation (GYV)* which is one of the institutional structures of the Gülen Movement has conducted meetings in Turkey where they brought people representing different styles of idea and life; and those are the first important steps in order to establish a common existence and life style in Turkey (Ergene, 2005: 49-52). Fethullah Gülen knows that establishing a dialogue with other religions and members of those religions has an important place in Islam; so he had a meeting with Pope John Paul II in Vatican in February 1998; trying to turn his opinions into practice. Gülen has shown very harsh reaction to September 11 terrorist attacks; and he tries to rebuild the image of Islam, which has been harmed by radical Islamists through their terrorist activities

¹¹ *Foundation for Dialogue and Education (Stiftung Dialog und Bildung)*, which is based in Germany has conducted an interview with Fethullah Gülen in April 2014 at his house, Pennsylvania, USA. A certain part of the interview questions included the current debates in Turkey; but they also contain issues such as the state, secularism, freedom of religion and belief, nationalism and Political Islam. For more information, please have a look at: <http://dialog-und-bildung.de/> (12.05.2014).

and also by Western media's subjective publications; by his personal speeches and the activities pursued by his followers in all continents on the axis of socio-cultural, education and dialogue. Ten days after the September 11 attacks, Fethullah Gülen has advertised in *the Washington Post*, one of the most effective newspapers in USA, and condemned terror and terrorism, calling for tolerance and dialogue. Gülen has institutionalized the saying ascribed to Islam prophet's son-in-law Ali, "*People are either your brothers in religion or your similar in creation*" with his interreligious and intercultural dialogue activities; and he is trying to turn the principles of tolerance, mercy, love and modesty which Islam refers in human relations to be livable.

According to American sociologist Helen R. Ebaugh (2010: 102-104), the people who support the Gülen Movement consider their individual aims similar with the aims of the movement, and this constitutes the central element of their intra-group identity. The individuals who gain a group belonging within the Gülen Movement are taking more self sacrificing, devoted and actionary liabilities in order for the group to achieve its aims. The direction of social movements such as the Gülen Movements to an ideal aim thanks to "*intra group belonging*", settles the ground for the development of a strong individual feeling of devotion. The open and participatory behavior of individuals who are members of movements that give importance to intercultural dialogue and communication are stemming from the realization of the idealized aims. Individuals, who adapt coexistence by its religious, moral and civil sides, are committing their aims with all the liabilities in the social movements they belong to. Therefore, the social movements in Europe with a minority based ground have an activity agenda which is respectful to democracy, human rights and legal norms and it has a great contribution to coexistence.

The activity agenda of Gülen Movement in European countries was shaped with a re-adaptation of the education and civil society model in Turkey which had been applied for almost forty years. Fethullah Gülen's thesis that the main problem of Turkey and even all of the civilizations is human and human education showed itself in Izmir, where he came in March 1966 with official post and became an

administrator. He taught one-one-one students with his unique education methodology synthesizing mind and conscience, and cultivated the first generation who are the teachers and administrators of the worldwide education system today (Ergene, 2005: 47). This ideological, philosophical and intellectual education understanding of Gülen provided the opening of “*Light Houses*” where university students could stay together. Successful university students coming from various towns of Anatolia have had the chance to stay in a warm environment; and they learned their religious, national and spiritual values and it turned a countrywide project in Turkey by time. Along with the “*Light Houses*” model, dormitories for male and female students with clean and comfortable environment and guidance services were opened as well. Numerous successful university students who stay in houses and dormitories were supported during their education with the scholarships provided by benevolent businessmen. Gülen has also encouraged the educator and benevolent businessmen around him to open private educational institutions with more quality, success and elite characters than the public schools. On the other hand, the exam preparation courses arranged for students who wished to attend the prominent universities and high schools were spread to all cities and counties by time.

In the essence of education, dialogue and humanitarian aid activities of Gülen Movement in all of the continents are the traces of struggle with three illnesses Said Nursi pointed out in his article of March 1909 in the newspaper *the Dini Ceride*. Said Nursi has ranked these illnesses that cover the human body as ignorance, poverty and dispute (separation, division) and advised the medications of art, skill and unity as the cure of those (Ünal and Williams, 2000). Fethullah Gülen has also adopted Said Nursi’s¹² model of service to religion and humanity

¹² Said Nursi was born in Bitlis, an eastern town of Turkey, in 1878 and he is the author of *Epistles of Light*, an interpretation of Qur’an. He was exiled to Barla, Isparta because of the internal political problems in Turkey and his works written by him in this town for 23 years starting in 1926 are translated to more than 30 languages today. The main subject of *Epistles of Light* is proving the facts of belief. *The Nur Community*, as it is known in Turkey, is an Islamic movement established by those who have adapted the ideas and worldview of Said Nursi in his works. After the death of Said Nursi in 1960, *The Nur Community* was separated into different groups following the different tendencies and opinions of his prominent students. *Gülen Movement* has gained an

and his works as a worldview; and he believes that a general operation of education and manners where heart, mind and soul are considered together could be the solution to many problems including ignorance.

As Gülen Movement came to the forefront in Turkish public opinion with its successful services especially in education; in the Western European countries it is more prominent by its activities conducted on education, culture, economic and religious spheres where the Turkish society is intensely living. The Gülen Movement considers education as the most prominent tool of social change and societal regeneration (Fuller, 2008: 116-117). The private school projects that began in Turkey in 1980s have first continued in Central Asian countries that got separated from the Soviet Union, followed by Balkans, Far East, African and European countries. The first private school in Europe was opened in Denmark in 1993 with the support of Turkey originated local sponsors and then spread to many countries in Europe. Today, in more than 10 schools in Denmark; many students from many ethnic origins are being educated with the Turkey originate children the most (Pörsti, 2013). As in other Western European countries, Gülen Movement is the fastest spreading one among the citizens of Turkish origin in Germany and has 24 schools recognized by the government, approximately 300 associations and approximately 150 out-of-school etude and education centers (Seufert, 2014: 5). These educational institutions that teach in English, Turkish and local languages could get support from almost each of the sections in the society because of their success and quality.

On the other hand, with Germany at the first rank; the etude education centers opened in Belgium, the Netherlands, France and other countries of Europe starting from 1990s have played important roles in teaching Turkish to the children of immigrant families and give support for the school courses. A part of the immigrant family kids who have received additional and supportive courses from the etude education centers where moral values and physical sciences were taught

independent momentum than *the Nur Community* and established its own sphere of action and idea (Yavuz, 2004).

have achieved to enroll in university in many countries, with Germany coming first. Moreover, the children of immigrants who have received education in the etude education centers, student houses/dormitories and private schools have started to work as educators in the institutes where they were graduated from or raised in.

Fethullah Gülen sees the problem of education and learning as the most important problem of the century (Ergene, 2005: 270). According to Prof. Dr. Ori Z. Soltes from the Georgetown University, the most important element of the Gülen Movement that lives on the ideas and articles of Fethullah Gülen are the educational activities they conduct to make devoted and self-sacrificing generations to be brought up.¹³ The most promising characteristic of the education mobilization spread among 160 countries of the world today is its contribution to the building of world peace. Schools that belong to the Gülen Movement have achieved to gather the children of families with different ethnic and religious backgrounds under the same roof in many parts of the world, and they contribute a lot to social and global peace today. Fethullah Gülen sees the 21st century as an age of “*dialogue of civilizations*” and concentrates on interreligious and intercultural dialogue which will make S. Huntington’s thesis of the “*Clash of Civilizations*” meaningless. Prof. Dr. Zeki Sarıtoprak considers the global peace project of Gülen very important and says that Gülen tries to raise a generation which will bring the permanent peace with a love for love and hate from hatred.¹⁴ In 2005, UNESCO Romanian Commission has given Fethullah Gülen the “*Tolerance and Dialogue Contribution Award*” because of his

¹³ Dr. Ori Z. Soltes has made a speech in the international symposium named “*The Hizmet (Gülen) Movement and Peace Building*” by Rumi Forum in Washington, USA and said that hundred of educational institutions were nourished by the ideals of Fethullah Gülen in many countries and continents, from pre-school to the university level. For more information, please see; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=72eWEsgoGog> (11.03.2014).

¹⁴ Dr. Z. Sarıtoprak made a speech in the conference named “*Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*” in London, UK between October 25-27, 2007 summarizes the peace project of Gülen with words such as “*tolerance, interreligious dialogue and charitable love*”. For more information, please see; <http://en.fgulen.com/conference-papers/contributions-of-the-gulen-movement/2527-fethullah-gulen-and-his-global-contribution-to-peace-building0> (12.05.2014).

contribution to world peace through education. Also, the ‘*Manhae Peace Award*’ given in South Korea since 1997 was also deemed suitable for Fethullah Gülen in 2013.

The qualified, ethical and successful education was aimed for the Turks in Turkey in Europe in the private schools, student dormitories, preparation courses and other institutions that Gülen inspired have no central organization and official structure that administers and controls all of them together. According to President of Journalists and Authors Foundation Mustafa Yeşil¹⁵, there is no single leadership or a hierarchical structure along with teams and institutions that act in the name of that structure within the Gülen Movement. In other words, Gülen Movement is organized by the autonomy and energy of local structures that operate independently. For instance, each school or institution operates with the support from local sponsors in their region. These institutions follow the education system of the country in which they operate. The teacher’s staff to be employed in the schools bound to the Gülen Movement is chosen among people who give importance to moral values, who have the vision of representation and who are aware of the ideals of the movement. The most important reason of the immigrant originated families’ choice of schools and institutions that belong to the Gülen Movement is their desire to grow their children to become ethical, well-behaved, educated and idealist. French newspaper *Le Monde* has written on November 5, 2006 that the schools which belong to Gülen Movement address the education problems of the immigrant children and that they could easily be considered as an example by the German schools (Ebaugh, 2010: 20).

Another featured field of activity of the Gülen Movement in Europe is the visual and printed media. *Zaman* newspaper is published in Turkish in a few regions where Turkey originated population is intense, with its head start in 1990 in Germany. After a quarter century, daily newspaper *Zaman* published in Germany continues its publication life with approximately 30 thousand circulations, and it

¹⁵ For the interview between the president of *the Journalists and Authors Foundation*, of which the Honorary President is Fethullah Gülen, Mustafa Yeşil and Selin Ongun from T24 internet news site in April 2010, please see; <http://t24.com.tr/haber/gulen-cemaatine-ordunun-tamami-degil-icindeki-bir-zumre-karsi,76007> (14.04.2014).

is published in Turkish and German. The newspaper has started its country editions from 2008 and is published under different names: Zaman Germany (daily), Zaman France (weekly), Zaman Belgium (daily), Zaman Netherlands (daily), Zaman Scandinavia (weekly) and Zaman Austria (weekly). “*Samanyolu Broadcasting Group*” is one of the biggest private broadcasting groups in Turkey and it is bound to the Gülen Movement. This group has a partner broadcasting company called “Ebru Europe” and it publishes in Germany using German and English languages; as “*Samanyolu Europe*” uses German and Turkish. On the other hand, *Kaynak Holding*, which was established in 1997 with the advice from Gülen makes great contributions to education and culture by its great educational publications in Turkish and foreign languages. One of the biggest international book, stationery and technology retail chains of Turkey, *NT*, is operating in 148 branches in Turkey and in seven different countries such as Germany, the Netherlands and Albania. It is predicted that the education, culture, dialogue and media activities brought to over 5 million Turkey originated people in Europe will play very important roles in terms of educating more pluralist, participant, informative and understanding generations. As a result, the Gülen Movement invests on culture, education, dialogue and media both within and outside Turkey, and is working very hard to establish “*islands of peace*” in the whole world.

The Gülen Movement is the biggest social movement in Turkey with a religious base (Fuller, 2008) and has been effective even in non-Muslim countries with its main axis as Turkish-Islamic identity (Ebaugh, 2010: 75). Today, the basis of Gülen Movement’s achievement of becoming a global movement in terms of the extensity and efficiency of education and dialogue activities is constituted of Gülen’s personal pervasiveness, individual sacrifices of the volunteers, confidence of financial supporters and advices of Islam and Prophet. Its openness to the democracy culture, its rejection of politicizing the religion, its dialogue with non-Muslims and its contribution for the adaptation of immigrants from Turkey have great importance in turning the Gülen Movement into a global actor in USA, Canada and Europe. Especially, one of the most important results of dialogue activities intensive in America and Europe are the dialogue trips conducted with foreigners met and a dialogue established into Turkey. Those people who have a

chance to see Turkey, the people of Turkish origin, culture and its hospitality have a positive change in their perception of Islam, Muslims and the Eastern culture. When we consider the participation of thousands of people into these dialogue trips, the contribution to dialogue and coexistence between the members of Islam and Western civilization could be understood easier. On the other hand, the network of social relations among different circles inspired by the ideas of Fethullah Glen has opened the way for economic cooperation thanks to the connections of educational institutions within and outside the country. *The Confederation of Business and Industrialists of Turkey (TUSKON)* is known with its close relations by the Gülen Movement, and is building business connections in Asia and Africa with the small and middle sized capital owners under its roof. These business connections and agreements are moved to further levels with the local connections and consultancy of the Turkish education institutions that have been operating in those countries for tens of years.

Gülen Movement has made progress in unifying tradition with modernity, and is organized through social solidarity networks in European countries where Turkey originated families are intense. Through the local social networks established by each country within itself, socio-cultural, education, economic and humanitarian aid activities are being organized. This tradition of philanthropy fed by the Islam-Turkish culture has been turned into practice with building of schools, dormitories, hospitals, universities and cultural centers by rich and also by giving humanitarian aid and scholarship to poor students. Another feature of the Gülen Movement that makes it different is that the humanitarian aid organization is not only limited with Turks or Muslims. In other words, the humanitarian aid organizations are sustained in any part of the world regardless of language, religion, race or gender. According to Dr. Amir Hussain¹⁶, the most important characteristic of the Gülen Movement that will make it special is the importance given to the interreligious

¹⁶ The series of publications named “*Intellectuals Tell the Hizmet (Gülen) Movement*” was published in *Zaman* newspaper in July 2014. Prof. Dr. Amir Hussain has also mentioned his opinions about the Hizmet Movement and he is teaching on contemporary Islamic societies at Loyola Marymount University. For more information, please see; <http://spectramedia.tv/2014/03/27/amir-hussain/> (22.03.2014).

dialogue and the amazing studies and projects conducted about that. The international civil society movement that organizes the humanitarian aid activities of the Gülen Movement worldwide, '*Is There Anybody Out There Association*' (*Kimse Yok Mu Derneği*),¹⁷ also conducts partnership projects with the Turkey originated local education, dialogue and aid associations in European countries. As Fethullah Gülen has showed his base the exact ways to operate '*the generosity and philanthropy institution*' that stems from religious and cultural tradition increases the intra-group motivation and devotion. Intra group solidarity networks and devotion also increases the number, efficiency and quality of activities in many areas. On the other hand, realization of the projects in the activity agenda and the sharing of the projects by the local public, financiers coming first, through the communication channels make the movement legal and visible. In Gülen Movement, where local elements and individual initiatives have an important place, we see a decentralized structure and governance type (Ebaugh, 2010: 96-124). Therefore, the transformation of the social responsibility that relies on religious, national and socio-cultural values into a worldview is the most permanent element that strengthens the social ground of Gülen Movement.

More than 10 years have passed after September 11, which caused fear and hatred among many people. This fear and anxiety have caused a type of behavior that contains intolerant, closed and hateful elements towards Islam and the Muslims living in European countries. Within this atmosphere of fear and anxiety, the understanding and tolerance based peace works and discourses of Fethullah Gülen which are based on tolerance, understanding and dialogue have caused a new hope and expectation in the Islamic world. Fethullah Gülen said: "*A terrorist cannot be a Muslim. And a Muslim cannot be a terrorist. A Muslim can only be the indicator of peace, comfort and abundance*" right after September 11 and it has been considered as the most courageous and concise expression of the religious understanding in the essence of Islam. The Gülen Movement has made an effort of rejecting all types of extremism and violence and by thinking that these concepts do not match with the real message of Islam, tried to spread tolerance

¹⁷ For more information about '*Is There Anybody Out There Association*' (*Kimse Yok Mu Derneği*), please see; <http://www.kimseyokmu.org.tr/?lang=en> (16.05.2014).

among religious communities (Fuller, 2008: 116-117). Prof. Ides Nicaise from Leuven University in Belgium says about Gülen Movement:

“Another characteristics of the Gülen Movement is the effort it spends for peace....As Belgium, we need this movement. It is not only because I think that the foreign students should have a better education, but mostly that I think about the attacks in Norway on July 22...Ten years have passed after September 11. Many Westerners could still not get rid of this nightmare. Fear and hatred have a deep place in many of them. According to me Gülen is the opposite pole of this picture of fear. This is what he said: “Terror can in no way be used in the name of Islam or in order to achieve a target of Islam. A terrorist cannot be a Muslim, and a Muslim cannot be a terrorist. A Muslim can only be the indicator of peace, comfort and abundance.” Yes, according to Holy Qur’an, killing a person for no reason is a crime committed towards the humanity.” (De Morgen, 2012).

September 11 attacks, one of the most tragic and important events of 21st century, can be considered as the beginning of a new era both for Muslims and the non-Muslims. We can either call the conflicts going on in Middle East, Africa and Ukraine as clash of civilizations, or war against terrorism; but it is certain that the international society needs common sense and mutual understanding. At this point, the prominent and respectful Islamic scholars and intellectuals’ steps taken with calls for common sense and dialogue are of crucial importance. Prof. Jill Carroll, the Director of Rice University Center for Research and Development of Religious Tolerance has considered Fethullah Gülen as an example in her book *“Dialogue of Civilizations”*, because of his most comprehensive support on dialogue and mutual understanding. According to Carroll, Gülen pursues his career as an inspiration for people inside and outside of Turkey with his scholar and intellectual identity, and he has been defending the dialogue as a necessary requirement in the modern world. Gülen says that democracy, as one of the environments where dialogue can be cultivated without problems, is not incompatible with Islam and he also claims that Islam can also develop democracy in many ways (Carroll, 2007: 39). Carroll, in the chapter *“on ideal person”* in his book *“Alliance of Civilizations”* draws attention that Gülen’s books did not make any call for action in political and administrative terms to raise individuals with high virtues and to bring an age where the ideal person should be

raised in. On the contrary Gülen emphasizes that only by making a worldview that is characterized by peace, knowledge, spirituality, tolerance and love dominant will the earth become a place to live and to become sustainable (Carroll, 2007: 83). In short, Gülen thinks that the ideal society could only be formed by ideal generations; and the ideal generations can only be formed by informed, mannered and ethical individuals.

The movement has the most followers in Turkey and grows with the encouragement of Fethullah Gülen, who is considered as a modern role model; and the movement has a social and spiritual side. According to Gülen, in our recent era, where populist contexts and mass propaganda are very popular, the investment done on individual is the world's most important and indispensable investment. Today, the Gülen Movement has moved beyond the Turkish borders and investing on education and intercultural dialogue in more than 160 countries of the world with its cultural norms and values; encouraging the students for universal humanitarian values, tolerance and dialogue. The Gülen Movement (Hizmet Movement) gathers Muslims, Christians, Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba and Ibus in Nigeria; Muslim Bosnians, Christian Serbs and Croats in Bosnia Herzegovina; Kurds, Sunnis, Shiite, Arabs, Turkmen and Assyrians in North Iraq; Moro Muslims and Christians in the Philippines; Chams Muslims and Buddhist Khmers in Cambodia and Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland; and the activities of education and dialogue have a function of facilitating the peace.¹⁸ On the other hand, the Turkish Cultural Centers that belong to the Gülen Movement are contributing to the internal peace by bringing Muslims and non-Muslims together through different activities. Dr. Yasien Mohamed is South African Arabic and Islamic Philosophy Lecturer and at a conference he attended¹⁹, he stated that the

¹⁸ Mehmet Kalyoncu has made a presentation in the conference named '*Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*' where he identified the example of Mardin in which different ethnic and religious groups exist, and the contribution of the Gülen schools to the social peace. For more information, please see; <http://en.fgulen.com/conference-papers/contributions-of-the-gulen-movement/2525-civilian-response-to-ethno-religious-terrorism> (12.05.2014).

¹⁹ Dr. Yasien Mohamad has made a presentation in the conference named '*Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*' and said that international Star High School in Cape Town, South Sfrica sample shows the contribution Gülen Movement

students enrolled in the Turkish schools of South Africa have become more constructive and successful individuals in the social life comparing with the students who are enrolled in other schools. İbrahim Keleş has conducted a research on Sebati Education Institutions operating in Kyrgyzstan and are bound to the Hizmet Movement has determined that the students graduate from the Turkish schools give more importance to the feelings of responsibility, respect, tolerance, cooperation and loyalty comparing with the students graduated from public schools.²⁰ According to sociologist Dr. Semiha Topal, the Afghan Turk-Girl High Schools operating in Afghanistan where 38% of the school-aged children (mostly girls) could not attend school; have increased the hopes and expectations on future for the female students and their families.²¹ Utrecht University Lecturer Prof. Dr. Martin van Bruinessen has prepared the report named “*Fethullah Gülen Movement in the Netherlands*” per request from the Dutch Ministry of Adaptation. The report has emphasized that the group named as the Fethullah Gülen Movement has been one of the groups which adapted into the Netherlands easily and the institutions of this group have contributed the most.

Gülen Movement has received several criticisms inside and outside of Turkey after it appeared on global public opinion. The reason why this study also

made to the moral values and internal peace. For more information, please see; <http://en.fgulen.com/conference-papers/contributions-of-the-gulen-movement/2522-the-educational-philosophy-of-fethullah-gulen-and-its-application-in-south-africa> (12.05.2014).

²⁰ İbrahim Keleş has made a presentation in the conference named ‘*Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*’ and submitted his ideas on the effects of education institutions which are bound to the Gülen Movement in Kyrgyzstan. For more information, please see; <http://en.fgulen.com/conference-papers/contributions-of-the-gulen-movement/2467-contributions-of-the-gulen-schools-in-kyrgyzstan> (13.05.2014).

²¹ *The Women Platform of Journalists and Authors Foundation* has organized a panel with Peace Islands Institute (PII) and Afghanistan Permanent Mission in the United Nations named “*Girls’ Education in Afghanistan: Achievements and Challenges*” in New York on March 18, 2014. Dr. Semiha Topal has attended the panel with a presentation named “*Afghan-Turk Colleges and their effect on the Education of Female Students in Afghanistan*” saying that the Turkish schools have had great sympathy from the Afghan public during the hard times of conflict and the families have sent their daughters to the Turkish-Afghan schools with full confidence. For more information, please see; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QPAGWcT4ndU> (15.05.2014).

mentions the criticisms about these groups is to emphasize the neutrality of the study and to indicate that all parts of the society do not support the existing movements. A certain part of criticisms about the Gülen Movement are mostly stemming from religious communities and political Islamists, followed by secular and socialist circles. Political Islamists relate the worldwide growth of Gülen Movement with the global powers and blame the movement as being a part of the Western powers. Same circles also criticize the Gülen Movement with claims such as acquiring the state through education, raising an ideological generation, harming the essence of Islam by secular and mixed education and falsifying the religion through dialogue. Secular, communist and socialist circles criticize the Gülen Movement by blaming it of raising a religious generation, building an Islamic state, threatening the secular system and trying to conquer the state. The point of criticisms outside the Turkey on Gülen Movement is the drawbacks on institutional and financial transparency and the position of women within the movement.

It will be better understood when some points in here are underlined, that the majority of Turkish public opinion consider these claims as biased. These points are the accelerating growth of the Gülen Movement both inside and outside Turkey, the high rate of students in the educational institutions that belong to Gülen Movement, acceptance of steps of dialogue by many sides and the permission given to the participants to criticize openly and transparently in international conferences and activities. Prof. Dr. H.Rose Ebaugh from the Houston University has published a book named "*Gülen Movement*" and she has indicated that she did not see any proof about the claims that the movement intended to take over the Turkish government or to build an Islamic state instead of the secular one (Ebaugh, 2010: 168-169). On the other hand, the former vice director of the CIA, Graham Fuller (2008) considers the Gülen Movement as a social one, rather than a political movement. According to Fuller, the aim of Gülen Movement is to change the thoughts and hearts of the people with a moral and scientific education towards more tolerance, social responsibility and modernization. The impression we have from the respondents among the European Turkish society in this sample group who are also the members of the

Gülen Movement is that the criticisms coming both inside and outside of Turkey are originated from less information, ideological and biased attitudes, fear and lack of sufficient promotion.

As a result, the mission of Gülen Movement to raise modern, secular and ethical generations is decreasing the effectiveness of radical and violent religious organizations in Turkey and in Europe. Today, Turkey is the geographically closest country to the European continent and it is presumed that the millions of the Turkish diaspora in European countries will play the leading role in intercultural tolerance and dialogue. The Turkish originated Islamic activist movements such as the Gülen Movement, which have established economic, commercial, cultural and social networks in many countries of Europe, will contribute to a new cultural understanding in Europe which depends on pluralism. The reason of mentioning the Gülen Movement more than the others in this study is that this movement contributes more to adaptation and communication with its efficient activities on education and interreligious and intercultural interaction. This study considers the “*alliance of civilizations*” more realistic and applicable rather than “*clash of civilizations*” in terms of the European Turkish society. In other words, it is believed that the Turkish society in Western European countries can establish a bridge of dialogue between the Islam and Western civilizations. Even though there is a vast literature on the integration and participation of the Turkish society in the West, the number of studies on its historical mission of building friendship bridges between East and West are very low. Therefore we hope that this study will fill an important gap in its area of study.

2.2.2. MİLİ GÖRÜŞ AND OTHER TURKISH ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS

The Turkish society which tries to survive in Europe within a permanent and settled order has been reshaping with the existence of movements with religious references. Belief based movements are keeping their grounds safe, live and strong against the centralized understandings such as assimilation, racism, loneliness, distrust and structural exclusion and they have a very solid support. The belief based movements can easily direct their followers to education,

political participation, solidarity and dialogue; and they have an important position which the Western countries address. Religious and non-religious movements which are Turkey originated seem to have the internal dynamics which will contribute the development of pluralist society model in Europe and to ease the adaptation of immigrants.

The sensitivities such as culture, identity, religion and language which were ignored in the first years of migration in European countries have become the steam engine of organization once settled down. Starting from 1973, when the worker recruitment into Europe has stopped, the Turkish society was organized by “fellow townsmen associations” and “mosque associations”, and has started to appear in a wide scale. Different group and community belongings appeared in European countries, and those were mostly affected by the political and ideological separation in Turkey. Therefore, the belief based movements have organized in Europe since the first years of the migration and they appeared in accordance with the social and political realities of Turkey. One of these movements is *the National Viewpoint Movement (Milli Görüş)* which has been organized in Europe since 1976, and which is one of the most important representatives of political Islam. First a short introduction to the development and organization of political Islam in Turkey will be given and then the activity agenda of *the National Viewpoint Movement (Milli Görüş)* in Europe will be evaluated.

The rise of political Islam in Turkey since 1980s cannot be analyzed by ignoring the concept of globalization. This is because political Islam is a movement that accompanies the socio-economic dimensions of globalization in both positive and negative dimensions. The rise of political Islam can also be read as the visibility of Muslim identity and its derivatives in the daily life practices. The religious understanding of the fundamentalist, anti-Western, introversive and traditional political movements rejects modernity and democracy. According to Gülaip (2003: 12-14) political Islam is one of the political movements that execute the political opposition against the new world order. Movement of Political Islam is a political and ideological one that played a role to find solutions about the political and

cultural problems of *the New World Order*²² by using the post-modernist and critical statements. On the other hand, postmodernism has either consciously or unconsciously played an important role in expanding the discursive area of political Islam. As a practical result of the change process in the world after September 11, Islamic movements have lost their power and started to put effort on articulate into the liberal discourse (Gülenç, 2011: 128-136). The entrance of Western secular worldview into the Islamic societies through a colonialist channel and the perception of this process as a threat by the Islamic societies have made it imperative for the political Islamists to develop a unique position. Islamists have believed that it was useless to reject modernity, and they predicted to include modernization into the general principles of Islam, in other words, Islamic modernism (Şen, 2007: 240). Political Islam was nourished by the criticism of modern West and it is the definition of the conservative groups in the Turkish society with an ideological identity, who were excluded during the modernization process. Political Islamist movements have put a distance between themselves and the conservative and religious masses who live their religion out of the political area, and to communities and orders; and they have developed a style of action and idea focused on gaining the authority.

The National Viewpoint Movement (Milli Görüş) was shaped in person of Prof. Dr. Necmettin Erbakan, who is the most known figure of Political Islam in recent Turkish history, is represented by Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi/SP) in Turkish politics today. *The National Viewpoint Movement (Milli Görüş)* has taken political Islam as a reference after September 12, 1980 military coup and has taken place in political arena with the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi/RP). The Welfare Party (RP) was the first party in December 1995 elections, but was closed within the shaky and argumentative atmosphere of Turkey (1998) and the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi/FP) was established instead. The excessive sensitivities of the Turkish

²² World has entered a new phase starting from 1980s. American President George Bush stated that their aim was to build a the “*New World Order*” in January 1991 when the First Gulf war started and it is the best indicator that officially shows the established world order is seriously changing. The “*New World Order*” is the name of a new era in which the Cold war has ended and a new unipolar world is valid, along with the efforts to establish the neo-liberal policies dominant (Gülenç, 2011: 122).

Army and the judicial circles on the principle of secular state have resulted with the shutdown of the Virtue Party in 2001. Effective and innovative figures of political Islam who were stressed with these closure cases have established a new political party and defined their position in political array as conservative democrats. *The Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/AK Party)* established by these groups in 2001 have been ruling the country since the 2002 elections, three terms in a row. *The AK Party* has separated itself from *the National Viewpoint Movement (Milli Görüş)* and gained important successes in politics; which caused some shifts in the base of *the National Viewpoint Movement* in Europe and Turkey. The competition between Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi/SP) which represents *the National Viewpoint Movement (Milli Görüş)* and *the AK Party* has affected the membership activation in almost all organs of the European organization. The choice of the masses that support the mosque associations, humanitarian aid activities and other multi directional campaigns of the Milli Görüş Organization to vote for AK Party leave the organizations in a dilemma. On the other hand, *the Turkish Islamic Union of the Religious Affairs Directorate (DITIB)* which has more systematically operated the mosque associations required for religious needs and which have gained a consistent pace has decreased the efficiency of Milli Görüş in the recent years. Another reason effecting the member activation of Milli Görüş Organization is the economic loss caused by the Islamic holdings close to this organization towards their members (Perşembe, 2005: 279).

*The Islamic Community Milli Görüş (Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş/IGMG)*²³ has its center in Germany and has been serving in religious, social and cultural fields to Turkey originated Muslims since the first years of the migration. Milli Görüş Organization, with 514 mosque associations, aid organizations, language and cultural centers within Europe is one of the biggest ones of the civil Islamic organizations (Yurdakul and Yükleven, 2009: 218). *The Islamic Community Milli Görüş (IGMG)* was officially established in Cologne, Germany in 1976 and is conducting several religious, moral and socio-cultural

²³ For more information, please see official website of IGMG; <http://www.igmg.org/> (13.05.2014).

activities such as Hajj and Umrah organizations, aid campaign, funeral services, humanitarian aid campaigns, language courses and periodic publications. Milli Görüş (National Viewpoint) Movement also controls the Turkey centered daily *Milli Gazete* with a daily circulation of 25 thousand and the TV5 channel on cable. Milli Görüş Organization has a monthly journal named *Milli Gorus Perspective*²⁴ published in Germany (Michaletos, 2012). Many Milli Görüş members have joined the political organization of AK Party since 2002 and have taken part in the political organization of AK Party in Europe, UETD.

Milli Görüş Organization is a political Islamic movement known with its anti-Westernism and has been classified as “Islamist extremist group” in the report prepared by the German Federal Ministry of the Interior in 2005 and in 2010 (Tol, 2008: 1). The report has stated that the Milli Görüş Organization has “*been working to establish and Islamist environment in Germany and to encourage the expansion of this environment*”. The German Federal Ministry of Interior has considered the Milli Görüş Organization as a threat for the German democracy and thinks that Milli Görüş (National Viewpoint) Movement, as a part of political Islam, prevents the integration of immigrants into the German society. One of the biggest reasons of this negative perception is the extensive religious content of Milli Görüş Organization’s activities and the Islamic education given to the youth. Another reason is the anti-Semitism in printed and visual media which are close to Milli Görüş (Schiffauer, 2004; Bodemann, 2004). On the other hand, many politicians and academicians in Germany consider the declaration of Milli Görüş Organization as hostile to democracy as unjust. Therefore, it is very hard to say that the Milli Görüş, which is organized through mosque associations in Germany with its 30 thousand active members, has the excessive radical tendencies. Milli Görüş has adopted the democratic politics in its political struggle within Turkey and has never been within a struggle that feeds from political violence.

The report of *Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life*, “*Muslim Networks and Movements in Western Europe*”²⁵ claimed that the Milli Görüş group and other

²⁴ For more information about *Milli Gorus Perspective* magazine, please see; <http://www.perspektif.eu/> (25.05.2014).

²⁵ For more information about the report, please see;

prominent Muslim groups in Europe were in a loose relationship with Egyptian Muslim Brothers organization. Even though the Turkey originated Milli Görüş (National Viewpoint) Movement and Pakistan centered Cemaat-i İslami have the same political Islamist worldview, they have never been involved in any kind of establishment which will threaten the public order. One of the issues that the European intelligence services are most sensitive about after September 11 (2001) is the propaganda conducted by radical Islamists in some mosques and similar locations, and the money they collect under the name of donations. The claims such as the transfer of these material aids collected in some mosques to the armed groups in Middle East, especially Hamas, has been researched with a great sensitivity. Within this context, the humanitarian aid organization named *Internationale Humanitare Hilfsorganisation e.V. (IHH Germany)* was banned in Germany due to the reason of the donations it made to the militant Islamic group of Palestine, Hamas. Turkey based *IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation* (which denies its relationship with the IHH banned in Germany) has organized a humanitarian aid fleet from Turkey to Gaza Bank in May 2010 (Michaletos, 2012). But this fleet which carried humanitarian aid was stopped in the international waters by Israel and 9 volunteers were murdered in the clashes, of which 8 were Turkish. Israel has officially apologized from Turkey 3 years later and accepted to pay compensation to the families of those who have lost their lives. But this event seems to have long term effect on the historical route and intensity of Turkish-Israeli relations. As a result, the future of Milli Görüş Organization which wants to expand its activity agenda in the Western European countries will be shaped by the distance it will have with the radical groups.

The Union of European Turkish Democrats (UETD) is a political organization and was established in Cologne, Germany in 2004, which was organized in a very short time within the countries where Turks live intensively. UETD is the unofficial organization of *the Justice and Development Party (AK Party)* in Europe, and it aims to increase the socio-economic and political levels of the Turks in Europe.²⁶ UETD defines its aim of establishment in Europe as the

<http://www.pewforum.org/files/2010/09/Muslim-networks-full-report.pdf> (26.05.2014).

²⁶The president of UETD, Süleyman Çelik said that the organization of which he is the

upgrade of social statuses of Turkey originated citizens in Europe and to conduct political lobbying. UETD focuses on two main issues such as the “European Turkish society” and “Turkey-EU Relations”, and it also aims to reveal the potential of the Turkish society which has a population of more than 5 million and to spread the life with a double culture. UETD wants to ease the adaptation of Turkey originated people in multicultural and multi identity European societies, to stand against assimilation and to maximize the international relations. UETD aims to attempt for the acceptance of Islam as an official religion in European countries and makes a great effort to widespread Turkish as the second language in schools. UETD demands for equal opportunity in political participation and sectoral employment; along with its requests such as education in native language and respect for beliefs and values.²⁷ UETD is becoming an effective lobby organization in Europe, where civil society organizations take different missions in different areas; and is organizing argumentation programs, academic activities and television programs to increase the political participation of Turkey originated citizens.

The Turkish Islamic Union of the Religious Affairs Directorate (DITIB) is an institutional structure bound to *the Republic of Turkey Presidency of Religious Affairs* and it operates in many countries of Europe through the official religious officials authorized by the government of Turkish Republic. DITIB has started its operations in Berlin in 1982 and had a central organization in Cologne in 1984 (Şen, 1995: 88) and has institutionalized the religious services started by the first-generation of the migrant workers. Cologne is the fourth biggest city in Germany and the biggest city of Rhine-Westphalia State with 120 thousand Muslims, and is also the first city where the Turkey originated belief based groups have first organized. DITIB Central Mosque and Cultural Center²⁸ is planned to be opened in 2014 and it is expected to provide richness to the socio-cultural life of city, along with satisfying the need of prayer by the Muslim community. DITIB²⁹ is the

president is a socio-cultural and political movement, in the interview gave in May 2014.

²⁷ For more information about UETD Berlin, please see; <http://www.uetd-berlin.org/> (21.05.2014).

²⁸ For more information, please see; <http://www.zentralmoschee-koeln.de/> (11.05.2014).

²⁹ For more information about DITIB, please see;

umbrella organization of 896 mosque associations in Germany today and it has an institutional responsibility of facilitating the places where Muslims will pray, contributes to the adaptation, operates in socio-cultural fields and gives importance to communication with the host society.

Mosque associations bound to *the Republic of Turkey Presidency of Religious Affairs* are the most extensive, systematic and organized Islamic organization in Germany and many European countries; and they contribute a lot for bringing the Turkey originated people together, make them cooperate and help each other. One of these organizations is *the Netherland Religious Foundation (Islamitische Stichting Nederland/ISN)*, and it was established in 1982, continuing to provide religious services with 142 mosque associations in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, there are approximately 1 million Muslims and 400 thousand Turkey originated and *Islamitische Stichting Nederland (ISN)* is contributing to social integration with Qur'an courses, religious education, funeral services, socio-cultural organizations for adaptation and Hajj/Umrah organizations. Another organization named *Belgium Religious Foundation (Diyanet van Belgie)*³⁰ is established in 1982 and serving today with its 67 mosque associations in religious, social and cultural fields.

Another civil Islamic group organized since the first years of migration through mosque associations with social networks based on voluntarism in many countries with Germany as the leading country; is the group known as *the Students of Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan (Süleymancı movement)*. The group has opened its first permanent center in Cologne in 1973 with the name Islamic Cultural Center and had a central organization in 1980 with the name *Union of Islamic Cultural Centers (VIKZ)*; and it is conducting activities to keep the Turkish-Islam cultural identity alive and to teach religion to the new generations. Currently it has approximately 300 mosque associations and branches in Germany, and the properties belong to VIKZ.³¹ On the other hand, 125 mosque associations and

<http://www.ditib.de/default.php?id=5&lang=de> (29.05.2014).

³⁰ For more information about *Diyanet van Belgie*, please see; <http://www.diyenet.be/Anasayfa.aspx> (20.04.2014).

³¹ The statistical and other information about *Union of Islamic Cultural Centers (VIKZ)*

branches operate in countries such as the Netherlands, France, Belgium, England and Denmark where the Turkish minority is living intensely (Perşembe, 2005: 279). *VIKZ* relies on none of the political opinions and ideologies in Turkey, and the material needs of mosque associations and student dormitories are paid by the fees from members.

Among the main aims of *Union of Islamic Cultural Centers (VIKZ)* are to fulfill the needs of prayer for the Muslim-Turkish society in Europe, take care of the funeral services, giving religious education and organizing multi-sided courses. It is one of the groups that is open to coming together with the non-Muslim majorities and establish dialogue in societies where Muslims live. *VIKZ* brings together people from many sections of the society such as local municipalities, police force and politicians in places where mosque associations exist; and contributes a lot to mutual dialogue.

One of the most important social Islamic movements in Turkey is *the Risale-i Nur (the Epistles of Light) Movement(s)*. Since the first years of the Republic (1923), Said Nursi (1878-1960) has considered the renovation and rebuilding of the Turkish society with moral values as the most important thing and he is the spiritual leader of *the Risale-i Nur Movement* which is shaped around ‘the Epistles of Light’ written by himself as an explanation of the Qur’an. After the death of Said Nursi, *the Risale-i Nur Movement* was separated into different branches named as *New Asia (Yeni Asya)*, *New Generation (Yeni Nesil)*, *Readers (Okuyucular)* and *the Scribes (Yazıcılar)*. *The Risale-i Nur Movement* and the groups within it have organized as *the Medrese-i Nuriyes* (places where religious conversations and discussions are conducted) after the death of Said Nursi both in Turkey and in Europe; and they have tried to take place within the European Turkish society in many European countries via religious conferences and talks. The institutional structure that conducts activities such as the translation of ‘the Epistles of Light’ into many languages along with German, publishing journals and opening new *the Medrese-i Nuriyes* where religious talks are being made is

were taken from the official website of the organization. For more information, please see; <http://www.vikz.de/> (19.04.2014).

the association called *Islamischen Gemeinschaft Jamaat un-Nur*. The number of the Medrese-i Nuriyes where educated youth who understand the Epistles of Light and interpret those in accordance with the current circumstances give Islamic and moral courses, is more than 50 in Germany today.

The Turkish Federation, organized within Europe under the name of *Federation of Democratic Idealist Turkish Associations (Föderation der Türkisch-Demokratischen Idealistenvereine)*, was established in 1978 in Germany and defined an identity politics on Turkish nationalism. *The Turkish Federation* has organized under the name of *European Turkish Confederation* in 2007 with the participation of 7 federations from 7 different countries. *The European Turkish Confederation* aims to contribute the education, social and cultural development of the people of Turkish origin and to conduct activities to solve their problems in the countries they are living in, with the adaptation problem coming in the first place.³²

The European Turkish Confederation is institutionally connected to *the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)* and its ground organization *the Ülkü Ocakları (Hearth of the Ideal Foundation of Education and Culture)* within the Turkish political life and is organizing Europe-wide activities, salon programs and visits that will strengthen the national and religious sentiments of the Turkish youth. Another nationalist group is *the European Union of Turkish-Islamic Cultural Associations (ATIB/Union der Türkisch-Islamischen Kulturvereine in Europa e.V.)*,³³ which was established in Germany in 1987. *ATIB* aims to conserve the cultural identity of the Turks in Europe, to live in harmony with the local-pluralist society and to become an educated and participant society with socio-economic power. Another Turkish nationalist movement organized in Europe is *the European Nizam-ı Alem Federation*; its new name as *the Turkish Cultural Organizations in Europe (ATB)*³⁴ is a civil society organization which was

³² The numerical and institutional information about the *Federation of Democratic Idealist Turkish Associations* were taken from the official website of *German Turkish Federation*. For more information, please see; <http://www.turkfederasyon.com/index.php> (12.04.2014).

³³ For more information about *ATIB*, see; <http://www.atib.org/de/> (15.04.2014)

³⁴ For more information about *ATB*, see; <http://www.atb-europa.com/> (15.04.2014).

established in 1994. *ATIB* is the European organization of *Great Union Party (Büyük Birlik Partisi/BBP)* which interprets the Turkish-Islam synthesis in a very successful way; and it is an umbrella organization established to provide the possibility and the ground for Turkish citizens in Europe to sustain and continue their cultural identities and beliefs.

One of the cultural belief groups in Anatolia where different beliefs and cultures lived together for centuries, the Alevis are one of the cultural belief groups. The Alevism is constructed on identity politics both in Turkey and Europe, and is a social movement that struggles to make its unique religious and cultural diversity to be recognized and to be accepted as a cultural richness. The Alevi community is known as the Alevism in the Islamic tradition and is connected to a heterodox belief system as a religious and cultural group; and it has been very well organized in Germany since the first years of the migration and gained important privileges and rights before the state. Only one of those rights is the possibility for the Alevi children to have courses in Germany by which they can learn their own religious and cultural values. Besides, even though Germany did not recognize Islam as an official religion; it has recognized the Alevism represented by *the Federations of Alevi Organizations in Germany (AABF)* in the status of belief.³⁵

Since the first years of the Republic, the Alevis were under political and economic oppression in Turkey, which caused them immigrate to Europe with large numbers in the first years of migration. Many the Alevi organizations have started to organize in Europe since 1980s and they have united under the roof of *the European Confederations of Alevi Associations (AABK)* in 2002 to strengthen the institutional power (Coşan-Eke and Özkan, 2014: 55-66). *The Federations of Alevi Organizations in Germany (AABF)* is a belief based organization that was established to protect and develop the cultural, belief and philosophical values of the Alevis in Germany. According to Lemmen (2001: 97), the Alevi Unions were established in Germany in 1991 and started to a centralized organization from 1995 onwards. *AABF* is represented with the 130 local branches throughout Germany and approximately 100 thousand registered members to these local

³⁵ For more information about AABF, please see; <http://alevi.com/de/> (21.05.2014).

branches (Perşembe, 2005: 383). 150 out of 250 the Alevi cultural centers operating in Europe under the roof of AABK are in Germany. AABF is a belief institution before the German state and is legally representing the Alevis in official state celebrations, receptions and various platforms.³⁶ Other the Alevi groups which are not under the AABK roof are *the European Cem Foundation* (Avrupa Cem Vakfı) and *the Union of Islamic Alevis of Germany* which was established in 2009. Also, *the Journal of Voice of Alevis* published in three different languages with the aim of transferring the Alevi belief and culture to the new generations; and a television channel named Yol TV also serve the Alevis in Europe.

On the other hand, religious and social movements which appeared with Turkey-centric characteristics since the first years of the migration are not open to dialogue among themselves in accordance with the diversity of their world views. The weak network of social relations among the Turkey originated civil society organizations in Europe stems from the effort of each group to build their base, volunteers and sympathizers built with an intra-group identity. The global success of the civil society organizations in terms of guiding their own base and volunteers into certain targets and ideals also causes class distinctions at societal level. For example, Turkish nationalism is reacted by the Islamist political movements and is considered by those as an ideology that eradicates the Ummah (Ümmet) understanding of the Muslim societies and devastates the unifying role of Islam within the society. Another example is the distance set by the Gülen Movement to belief based organizations such as VIKZ, IGMG and even DITIB that is official religious representative of the Turkish Republic. The Gülen Movement's perception of itself as different from these groups concurs with its structural attitude towards the politicization of religion and its education method of raising virtuous generations through secular education (Seufert, 2014: 20). But, as the masses that support the Gülen Movement enter into the mosques that

³⁶ For the interview given by the president of AABK, Turgut Öker, to *Al Jazeera Turk*, please see; <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/almanyadin-alevi-ve-sunnilere-bakisi> (12.06.2014).

belong to other groups without any hesitation clearly indicates that they are open to social compromise.

We can say that the belief based organizations, of which we could not give more details about their activities and contribution to dialogue in this chapter, do not tend to radical organizations both in Turkey and in Europe, and that they keep a distance between themselves and the radical attitudes and actions. On contrary to the radical tendencies; we can easily say that these movements have contributed to the socio-economic, cultural and political participation and social adaptation of Turkey originated new generations in Europe. On the basis of *Social Networks Theory* (SNT) and *Social Capital* (SC), the civil movements of the European Turkish society with religious orbit, contribute a lot to social adaptation and reconciliation through their strong social relations and networks. Also, on the basis of *Organizational Commitment Theory* (OCT), the religious and social movements in Europe which are the practices of Turkish-Islamic tradition have the internal dynamics which will provide the people who support them to adapt and like the countries where they live in; to learn its language, history and culture and to understand the value of coexistence.

2.3. ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS RADICALISM IN THE TURKISH COMMUNITY

Radicalism is the oppression of traditional religious values and the defense of them with a conservative, intolerant and dogmatic attitude against the modern life style (Hoffman and Graham, 2006: 396). Radicalism appeared as a reaction to modern ideas, ideologies and life style and it is nourished from the lack of socio-economic and political justice during the modernization process. Therefore, in the modernization process where individual, social and geographical inequalities appeared, the establishment of balances of power with an unjust style has caused the establishment of radical tendencies. Religious radicalism was in the beginning an innocent reaction towards the modern life style and by time it reached to a point of arguing that religion has to cover every part of the daily life (Ercins, 2009: 654-662). Many Muslim countries that were ruled by the Western countries' hegemony for long years, were ruled by new kingdoms and military governance

with the help of imported secular law and government systems. Political Islamists have confronted the secular life style and the modernity which forces this life style and they have become the effective schools for Muslim societies to be ruled by Islamic legal norms and economic and political independence struggle (Kirman, 2008: 283-284). Political Islamists have believed that a political struggle was necessary against the traditional understanding of colonialism, and the radical tendencies among them are the stemming point of religious radicalism. Therefore, religious radicalism strongly rejects the social, economic and cultural changes that make effort in terms of modernity. The stemming point of the religious radicalism in Islam geography is mostly the reactionary movements appeared against the Western imperialism. The target of these Islamic movements is to facilitate a state system which will totally be re-designed with Islamic and traditional moral values. Therefore the religious radical movements have downsized Islam into a political ideology.

The diversity in the religious life witnessed as a result of the amazing effect of modernity on Islam world since the beginning of 19th century has shifted to a different direction with ideological attributes such as radical Islamism, Islamic fundamentalism and political Islam. So called innovative and reformist tendencies appeared in Islamic world with the help of globalization to find solutions for socio-cultural, economic and political problems is the stemming point of political Islam. Today, mainstream movements such as Kharijism, militant Salafism, the Muslim Brotherhood and Wahabism are different versions of Islamic radicalism (Bodur, 2004, 2005). Radical Islamic movements have carefully applied the stages of propaganda, establishing a ground and administrative/bureaucratic organization in order to achieve their aim of building an Islamic state. Radical Islamic movements have reinterpreted the verses of Qur'an and the words of Prophet to show the legitimacy of the method they chose to the public opinion (Uslu, 2007). As globalization has been identified with capitalism and the Americanization of life styles; Islamization is considered as a global threat to the civilization (Göle, 2010). As Europe gives a great importance to Islam, there is a severe discontent from the scary image of the radical groups of which the visibility increases. It is of a great concern that the radical elements of Islam will

degenerate the democratic values and national cultures of the Western civilization. The large groups of people with this concern are considering Islam as a threat that should be isolated from the society or at least something to be kept under control. A very tiny group have a more sensitive and positive attitude about the acceptance of Islam and giving it some eases in practice (Rath, Groenendijk and Penninx, 2005: 80).

When considering the efficiency of radical tendencies on the European Turkish society, it should be an inadequate evaluation to think of those as independent from the developments in Turkey and in global level. Any idea, ideology and ideological context in Turkey is moved to the European countries with the continuing migrations and interactions at every level. The most important example of this is the effective organization of *the Kurdistan Worker's Party* (PKK), established in Turkey in 1970s, in Europe at macro and micro levels and in cultural, economical and political areas. Since the first years of migration, Kurdish people who have come to Europe, especially to Germany and Sweden as political refugees after 1980 military coup have constituted a great potential for the *PKK* (Kurubaş, 2004; Kurubaş, 2013). Another recent example about this issue is the support given to *the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS, also called ISIL)* terrorists, who fight against Bashar Assad regime in Syria and against central Iraqi government, by radical Muslims in different parts of the world with different ethnic identities. According to the reports of intelligence organizations, many radicals of Turkey origin came from the European countries have joined *the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)* in Iraq and Syria. The case of support which is defined with thousands of people to *the Turkish Hezbollah* and *ISIS*, radical Islamists, clearly indicates the peril of this situation. These two cases indicate that all radical movements that appeared within the European Turkish society or carried from Turkey to Europe, happen in accordance with the social and political realities in Turkey.

Groups that represent the radical and extreme side of political Islam see the current social structure as an opposition to themselves and they reject to cope with the system. Among the radical Islamist organizations that are against the

constitutional order of the national governments in Europe and Turkey, with a will to establish the Shariah law are the Turkish Hezbollah (Party of God), The Union of Islamic Associations and Communities (ICCB/Kaplancılar), Hizbüttahrir El-İslami, Tevhid-Salam (Kudüs Ordusu-Jerusalem Army), IBDA-C (Islamic Great East Raiders-Front) and Al-Qaeda. On the other hand, leftist radical groups such as the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C or Dev-Sol), Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (MLKP), the Turkish Communist Party (TKP/TIKKO) and the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) still use violence with their cell type structures (Bal, 2006; Ozeren and Cinoğlu, 2006: 155-164).

There are approximately one million of the Turkish citizens with Kurdish origin in Europe. The Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) is very effectively organized among the Kurdish originated diaspora in Europe, and has been supported by a group of European politicians and governments which have openly stood against Turkey. But, as *PKK* has applied violence in such ways to threaten the public order and got involved in criminal issues; which made the European government anxious. Radical activities conducted under the name "*Kurdishness*" are supported by illegally collected money. *PKK* and its political wing *ERNK* aim to establish an independent Marxist-Leninist state in Turkey and in Northern Iraq, are among the banned organizations in Germany since 1993. In spite of the ban, this ethnic radical group is being organized under different names and still operates several associations and federations. *The Confederation of Kurdish Associations in Europe (Kon-Kurd)* is the upper organization of 11 federations in Europe with its center located in Belgium, indicates the expansion of the Kurdish diaspora's organizational network. But, the steps taken by the Kurdish political movement in Turkey for normalization and the legal and political steps officially taken in order to stop terror have narrowed the maneuver area of the conflict supporters. Besides, *PKK* cannot collect donations as easier as before in European capitals and also it is considered as a threat to national security; which have caused the transformation in the diaspora of Kurdish political movement.

'*The Kurdishness*' movement had credits before the European public opinion and governments as a "*nation which had been crushed in Turkey and which is still*

being crushed”; has started to lose its credibility with the violent demonstrations and the democratic developments in Turkey. This movement was for long years hid behind the different political and economic benefits of Germany; and it threatens the social and welfare state through trade of heroine, human trafficking and illicit money, strengthens the social polarization through ethnic nationalism. The generations who were born and raised in Europe do not approve radicalism and they reject to join the dogmatic Kurdish ideology and becoming politicized. Also, the recognition of Kurdish identity in Turkey, support of democratic reforms in Turkey by laws and the enabling of the peace have decreased the support of Kurds living in Europe to radical organizations like *PKK*. Leftist organizations like *PKK* and Iran originated radical Islamic organizations such as Hezbollah cannot be effective on the Sunni-Muslim Turkish and Kurdish identity anymore, and this is another indicator of normalization. As a result, the Kurdish diaspora, which was known as a suppressed and excluded community in European public opinion, is transforming within itself by the change of generations and its develops more communication with Turk originated immigrants, therefore turning into a role open to adaptation.

Religion based radical groups that appeared in Turkey after 1979 *the Islamic Revolution of Iran* aim to redesign the secular and democratic Turkish Republic according to the Islamic Shariah. These radical Islamist groups were affected from Islamic revolution of Iran and they preferred to execute all types of struggles to achieve their aim, including violence. One of these radical organizations, *Tevhid-Salam* has found ground in Eastern and Southeastern regions of Turkey and it was established to create an Islamic state in the Republic of Turkey, similar to Iran after 1979 Islamic revolution of Iran (Dilmaç, 1997; Orttung and Makarychev, 2006: 148-149). This radical organization named *Tevhid-Salam* has been confirmed as a terrorist organization by the highest court of Turkish judiciary system, Supreme Court, in 2002, 2006 and 2014. The most important message delivered by religious radical organizations such as Iran guided *Tevhid-Salam* and *the Turkish Hezbollah* to their bases; many democratic Muslim countries including Turkey are not “Islamic, and also called Darul-Islam”, but “non-Islamic, and also called Darul-Harb” countries. These radical groups claim that Muslim

countries are not the lands of Islam, and they use this type of religious discourses to legitimize their ideological expressions. Therefore the Islamist groups re-interpret the religious concepts according to their ideological tendencies, legitimizing violence and achieved to guide their followers in the way they wished (Çakıcıoğlu, 2007: 55). Radical Islamic groups have secularized Islam as a result of politicization of religion or placing the politics into the religious terminology. As the Western imported systems could not solve the economic and social inequalities in Muslim countries, religion based post-modernist opinions have started to appear. To facilitate the welfare state, radical groups have defended that it was necessary to establish the order of Shariah, and to achieve it they made up religious references for terror to provide the new governmental order (Cırhinlioğlu and Bulut, 2010: 304).

Another radical Islamist group known as *ICCB-Kaplancılar* was established in Germany in 1983 by Cemalettin Kaplan. Cemalettin Kaplan has separated himself from the Milli Görüş Organization under the name ‘*Tebliğciler*’ and established *the Union of Islamic Associations and Communities* in 1985. The reason of his separation from Milli Görüş is the difference of opinion in the method of serving the Islam. On contrary to the understanding of political Islam by Milli Görüş, which says that building a political party would serve Islam, *ICCB-Kaplancılar* have predicted to establish a caliphate in accordance with the Islamic law.

ICCB-Kaplancılar movement, which aims to establish governments referring Islamic legal norms in Turkey and the world and to bring the caliphate back, has lost its effect after their founder Cemalettin Kaplan passed away in 1995. His son Metin Kaplan took his place, but was sentenced to death with the accusation of giving an order of death about one of his rivals in 1997. Interior Ministry of Germany has officially banned *the Union of Islamic Associations and Communities* (ICCB) in 2001, which is also known as *Kaplancılar*. One of the main reasons of the ban of *ICCB-Kaplancılar* in Germany is to provoke its own members against Turkey which has a secular and democratic government, and to try establishing a parallel religious state by completely ignoring the German constitution. Radical groups with religious references such as *the Turkish*

Hezbollah and *ICCB-Kaplanlılar* are mostly benefiting from the conflict between Palestine and Israel, an issue which the Turkish people are very sensitive about. As the origin of Palestinian nationalism is Zionism (Smootha and Hanf, 1992: 34), the origin of radical religious groups is the colonialism of the West and the massacres conducted by Israel to Palestinians.

Another main source of which the radical elements within the European Turkish society are nourished from is the existence of radical right and racist reflexes within the host countries. As the Muslims in Europe localize and become European, native Europeans tend more to the rightist policies (KAM, 2012). Native Europeans distinguish themselves from the Muslims and they exclude the Muslims who try to be like them more recently. The prejudices and fears that threaten the peace and cause social tensions in Continental Europe are used by racist rightist parties to create a public opinion. The political systems and recent political histories of the European countries also play an important role in the otherization policies of extreme rightist parties (Stokes, 2009). The distinction done by extreme rightist parties as “you” and “us” and the otherization of Muslim identity, prompt many closed and fanatic groups to extreme radical tendencies. The claim of Bernard Lewis (1996: 52-63) and Gilles Kepel (1994: 194) that *“liberal democracy is not only incompatible with radical Islam, but also incompatible with the essence of Islam itself”* increases singly the religious fanaticism and extremism among Muslims (Gerges, 1999). But, the liberal democratic values represented by West today are contradictory with the applications in the constitutions of these countries in terms of basic rights and freedoms, along with the exclusionist, separatist and otherizing policies. Therefore, along with the perception of radical Islamic groups as threat in the West, the Muslims are also considered as potential dangers within Europe, which causes both parties to move opposite sides. This polarization is nourished from mutual biases, and it turns the Muslims in Europe into people more bound to their traditions, religions and national identities. But, on the other hand, this polarization also forms a basis within the European societies for the establishment of spatial and cultural ghettos and the development of a life style that equals with

the concept of “parallel society”. This kind of a life style nourishes religious and fanaticism and radicalism.

Therefore, the exclusion of Muslim minorities who could be the participant actors of interreligious and intercultural dialogue in the West by otherizing practices spoils the social stability. The minority groups relocate themselves in accordance with the perspectives, perceptions and reactions of the other side, which causes them to become psychologically introvert and refrain from active dialogue. Both sides have to take liabilities in order to see the immigrants as a cultural diversity instead of a threat. The historical hostilities and religious fanaticism have eroded the individual and societal relations; and those can only be reconstructed as both the European societies and European Muslims take the full responsibility. This responsibility necessitates the institutional structures which will conduct works with the highest self devotion and the manpower with high intellectual equipment.

Muslims are a part of the demographic structure of Europe and their contribution to social change and progress differs according to the differences in religious understanding. The existence of ethnic and religious groups which are open to education, science, coexistence and dialogue is the biggest obstacle in front of radicalism. A great majority of the Turkish diaspora, which is a part of European cultural mosaic, think that Islam does not prevent science, education and development. A great majority of the Turkish diaspora thinks that Islam has an approach of peace and tolerance towards other religions and cultures; and they keep themselves distant from radicalism and radical groups that consider violence and extremism as the aim of religion. Religious people in Turkey and in diaspora have adapted the democratic politics and never stood together with a struggle relies on violence. Political Islamists, who have preferred peaceful and reconciliatory methods in political struggle have remained as distant as possible from radical Islamist fractions.

The Turkish diaspora in Europe also struggles with the religious, ethnic and cultural fanaticism through the social networks it has established within itself. The religious and social movements with Turkey originated bases in Europe and the civil society organizations have played permanent and active roles in the

development of social harmony, coexistence and mutual understanding. Especially the religious communities have developed many preventive alternative projects in terms of drugs and alcohol addiction of the young generations and disgraceful offenses. Also, tolerance and dialogue centers were established in many capitals of Europe, laying the foundation of coexistence. As a result, this study predicts that Islam, with tolerance, peace and unity in its essence cannot be a threat for the West; and it can even prevent the fanaticism and radicalism to find grounds in Europe. Again, this study believes that the Turkish-Islamic tradition has the dynamics to prevent the extremism and fanaticism among the Turkey originated people in Europe. The intergenerational change in the European Turkish society has increased the commitment to democratic and universal values and disabled the radical and extremist tendencies. Therefore, the pluralist societies of Europe should consider this change very carefully and develop an intercultural dialogue among different cultures. Besides, West should continue hosting all different cultures within itself without any fear and prejudices. Also, Muslims should get rid of the understanding that sees all the innovations from West as a tool of exploitation. And the Western societies should stop considering the attacks of radical Islamist groups as something coordinated with all of the Muslims.

2.4. INTEGRATION OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN EUROPE

Integration is a concept used to define the adaptation of minority groups into the social life and public rules of the host countries. It is sometimes related with the concept of “assimilation”, but it originally means protecting its own existence while participating in the experience of a pluralist society. Therefore integration is a process that appears by the development of approaches between the host societies and minorities within the framework of mutual understanding, good will and responsibility (Perşembe, 2005: 274-275). The pluralist approach of migrated countries and the internal dynamics of the European minority groups affect the adaptation process. In other words, the own structural differences of the immigrants (e.g. democratic understanding, urban culture, education, socio-economic status and language) might sometimes contribute a lot to adaptation, but sometimes it might be a factor that makes the adaptation harder. These structural

characteristics of the immigrants are either there or gained later, and they have a huge impact on adaptation as well the adaptation policies of host countries and the positive/negative speeches of the politicians.

There are two different integration models applied in Western European countries, which became the immigrant countries in the last century. One of these models is most visible in France, and we can call it as secular and republican assimilation model. It severely rejects the public sphere appearance of any ethnic, religious, philosophical, social and political characteristics as it requires all the individuals in the public sphere to be one. The French model of assimilation which nourishes from republicanism and secularism, relies on an abstract understanding of public sphere in which the individuals eluded from all kinds of cultural and social belongings will be included (Benichou, 2006: 83-84). The Anglo-Saxon integration model applied in England and the Netherlands, on contrary with the secular and republican assimilation model of France, is also called as multicultural integration model and presumes that immigrants conserve their linguistic, cultural and social differences and have equal economic, social and political rights with the local people. But, especially after the September 11 attacks, many European countries, with the Netherlands as the leading country, have started to pursue transformed and limiting migration and integration policies.

The theoretical approach developed against the foreigners coming out of Europe based on assimilation defines the melt of immigrants with equal rights and statuses in the dominant cultural pot and gaining a new cultural identity (Jackson and Penrose, 1994). Canadian model, on contrary with the assimilation based theoretical approach in France and Germany, is a model that protects the cultural identities of the minority groups. In Quebec, one of the ten states of Canada, the official language is French and the differences such as cultural identity are protected within the country; and those cases indicate that adaptation can happen without assimilation (Lucassen, 2005). Europe has different experiences of migration than USA and Canada, and follows a more hasty and inexperienced structure. The weak socio-economic, education and occupational competencies of

the immigrants that came from third world countries after the end of Second World War made the adaptation process even harder.

The multicultural society is a society where many societies with different cultures and origins live together. There is an understanding of tolerance which relies on respect to the socio-cultural existence of the immigrants in the multicultural society model (Canatan, 1990: 94-99). According to Williams (2003), the way to get rid of the nationalist discourses that claim numerous cultures and identities cannot coexist, is to give different identities, cultures and nations more political and social rights and not to ignore the forceful assimilation and denial (cited by Ongur, 2011: 60). According to J. Habermas (2005: 2-3), in an individual-based liberal democracy, the melting of the citizenship and majority culture results with an understanding of civil rights which is apathetic to cultural differences. This causes discrimination against different cultures and life styles, and also makes it difficult to prevent the possible conflicts between the cultures. Therefore, if a just and tolerant approach on the perception of multiculturalism is required, the recognition of an individual's cultural difference and identity must be given more importance (Gündoğdu, 2008: 74).

As the nations which constitute America call themselves as "*Americans*", it is expected from the minorities in Europe to call themselves as "*Dutch*" or "*European*". Even the lift of borders with Schengen regulation did not make the individuals of the member states to call themselves as "*European*". A German, above all, is a German first, and then European. In such a case, the expectations from the foreigners to call themselves as "*European*" or "*French*" and to forget their national cultures and identities is an unjust and unequal approach. The concept of "*European Islam*" which could be in harmony with Western democracy and norms is a type of formalism and perception building. Europe has a multicultural geography, and it should leave aside the traditional conservatism it has, accepting that the minorities also have an identity and culture just like themselves. According to Bernard Lewis (2002) multiculturalism defines the idea that the direction of European centered education and culture should also rely on numerous cultures.

It is very early to determine that the immigrants from Turkey could not adapt into the social and public system of the countries which they live in (Kaya, 2005). Since the first years of the migration the plans built upon working, earning money and returning back have delayed learning language, participation and adaptation. The first generation of immigrants with low education levels and socio-economic statuses had to struggle with inequality of opportunity they faced in employment, education and public sphere. The first generation of immigrants has followed traditional behavior against globalization and modernity, and they had problems to help their children have a civilized, efficient and balanced vision. Therefore, the problems of the immigrants from Turkey have sides that look at themselves and the sides that look at the host societies. First generations had to move to the city centers of modern world without having a chance to internalize the minimum requirements of urban culture such as coexistence, a culture of democracy and citizenship. First generations had a problem of incompatibility with the host societies which have internalized the urban culture for long years already; thereby they abstracted themselves from the spatial area, alienated themselves and lost the urban belonging. As they moved far away from the public sphere, the first generations have socialized among themselves through “*fellow townsmen associations*” and “*mosque associations*”. Immigrants from Turkey have developed traditional defense mechanisms against social alienation and it was very hard for them to build more comprehensive, modern and unifying institutional structures for the second and third generations following them. Children of first generations remained between two different cultures at home and at school, and had a lack of confidence because of linguistic incompetency (Kaya, 2000: 120-121). The first generations which could not internalize the urban values and shareholding, have directed themselves to spatial and cultural ghettos as a result of socio-economic obligation.

Some of the problems faced by immigrants from Turkey are; xenophobia, racism, discrimination, unemployment, inequality in education and the unjust legal regulations. All of the foreigners, including the immigrants from Turkey, and their demographic existence in European countries is considered as one of the reasons of high unemployment. The traditional socio-cultural structure of ethnic and

religious minorities caused the appearance of problems such as racism, xenophobia and social exclusion in Western societies. Some countries have developed new policies and precautions on migration and adaptation to cope with these problems. Western countries have tried to provide the active participation of minority groups into job market and social life, and also tried to prevent the creation of “unequal” population zones in terms of rights and freedoms (Koca, 2002). Some other European countries have made it difficult for the minorities to populate through family reunions and marriage. Immigrants from Turkey are struggling with problems such as racism, Islamophobia and discrimination; and they have remained hesitant to cope or resist the new life styles brought by globalization. Second and third generations who were born and raised in the West have weaker relations with their homelands and original cultures as a result of globalization (Roy, 2013: 51). During the process of socialization, on contrary with the first generations who have confronted problems such as unemployment, language, biases and xenophobia; the most important integration problem of the next generations are the discriminations they face in terms of education and job opportunities, and the cultural degeneration and loss of identity.

A certain part of Muslims with different dress codes prefer to live within the society without the need to hide their religions and cultures. Another part of them refrain from being visible and prefer to delay the practices that belong to religion and culture. Certain parts of the people who delay the religious and cultural practices prefer to socialize, while putting a distance to their cultural identities. There are certain differences among the Muslim groups in terms of using and executing religious symbols such as headscarf, veil, traditional clothes and beard. The religious symbols which are more visible for Muslim women are perceived in different ways among the European societies. For instance, it is thought that the women dressed in accordance with Islamic rules are considered as people who do not drink alcohol, eat pork or adapt with the host society. On the other hand, it is thought that women with modern clothing have adapted the host society and Western norms more (White, 1997: 759). These two perceptions have rights and wrongs within themselves. In other words, a woman with headscarf can both be very successful in public sphere and live the requirements of her religion. This is

vice versa. The difference in these perceptions indicates that the general opinion of the Western societies about Muslims is shaped upon the physical characteristics of some Muslims which are prominent with religious symbols and the discourses of visual and printed media.

To protect and sustain their religious and cultural identities, Muslims in Europe have had to deal with many struggles. On top of the problems is the process of institutionalization by the mosque associations. Purchase of a land to build a mosque or purchasing the ownership of a building necessitates a serious amount of cash. Along with the problems of finding an appropriate place for the mosque and purchase of it, the persuasion of neighborhood requires an extra effort. Even though they are persuaded, with the direction of extreme rightist and radical groups, the protests and violent actions are also parts of this tough process. In Germany, where Islam is still not recognized as an official religion, mosques are not as elegant as churches and synagogues belong to Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities which are recognized as official religions. On the other hand, the physical attacks on mosques and protests harm social reconciliation and unity. Besides, the ban on headscarf in France along with the ban on teachers in Germany is another area that makes the adaptation tougher.

According to Thranhardt (1999), the Dutch governments are developing equal citizenship policies by expanding the political rights to increase the participation of immigrants into political life. The Netherlands is accepted as a country which is tolerant to multiculturalism, pluralism and diversity. The liberal implementations that ease the acquisition of citizenship have caused 70% of the Turkish immigrants to become the citizens of the Netherlands. In Belgium, this rate is almost 75% (Bocker, 2004: 4-5). As the citizenship rates of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands is high, so is their political participation. Another positive reflection for the Turkish community in the Netherlands in terms of high political participation is the increasing feeling of confidence towards political institutions and the politics itself. According to Fennema and Tillie (2000), the current transparent political system in the Netherlands increase the confidence of minorities towards political parties, government institutions and local politics

along with strengthening the feeling of belonging. The Turkish immigrants are showing more interest to local news and policies, thanks to the transparent political system of the Netherlands (Tol, 2012: 306). The increasing interest of the Turkish immigrants towards the socio-economic and political spheres of the societies they live in indicate that they have maximized their feelings of belonging and shows to the Dutch public opinion that the Turks are also stakeholders.

There is no sustained and institutionalized understanding of pluralism in Germany. Even though there are strong anti-discrimination laws, the foreigners in Germany (especially the Muslims) always face verbal and physical attacks, violence and discrimination. The ethno-centric citizenship policies of Germany have caused very serious divisions and polarizations between the host society and the immigrants. The ethno-centrist citizenship policies have limited the access of Turkish society, the most intense group of immigrants, to the professional occupations in the public sector, with education as the forefront one (Koopmans, 1999: 627-648). Therefore, as the second and third generations who were born and raised in Germany did not have any German citizenship or equal citizenship rights until the recent years have established the ground for the creation of spatial and cultural ghettos within itself. In short, a certain part of the Turks in Germany who are not interested enough in socio-cultural and political adaptation have separated themselves from the majority of the society with the effect of discrimination and preferred to live in their own settlements.

According to Esser (2000: 56-66), social integration appears in four different dimensions. These are acculturation, socio-economic-political location, interaction and identity. Esser also mentioned that integration appears in four different ways in accordance with the realization form of these four dimensions. These are segregation where adaptation to the ethnic culture is dominant; assimilation where adaptation to the new culture is dominant; multiple integration where there is adaptation to both cultures and marginalization where both cultures are rejected (cited by Şahin, 2010: 107). In a study conducted by Şahin (2010: 124-125) in two cities of Germany, Frankfurt and Duisburg, the social integration of the Turkish immigrants was evaluated in terms of acculturation by taking the

inter-generational differences into consideration. According to the results of this study, the Turkish immigrants have high rates of continuation of the Turkish culture, adapting the Turkish identity and the level of communicating with Turks; and this is followed by adapting the German culture, communicating with the Germans and adapting the German identity at lower levels. On the other hand, the results of same research indicates that the level of adapting the Turkish culture decreases as generations increase; and that the level of adapting German culture increases as generations increase

We can say that racism has increasingly been effective on the European public opinion. The belief that foreigners and especially the Muslims are genetically unsuccessful and they have adaptation problems increases in German public opinion. In a research published on “*Die Zeit*”, a German weekly newspaper with the signature of Detlef Pollack, it is stated that 50 percent of people in Portugal, the Netherlands, France and Denmark have positive opinions about Muslims, as in the regions of Western Germany this rate is 34, followed by 26 percent in Eastern Germany. Besides, 2/5 of the Western states and half of the Eastern states’ citizens in Germany believe that Germany is threatened by foreign cultures. According to the results of the same study, 70 percent of the Germans consider cultural diversity as the reason of many problems, compared with 59 percent of the French.³⁷

When it is considered that pluralism, ethnic and religious diversity will become the most important values of Europe in the future, multicultural and liberal integration policies must be applied to the Muslims in Europe. The principle of social state should uncompromisingly be followed in order to help Muslims see themselves as first class citizens in safety and security. Second important point that should be implied in here is that the immigrants should also leave their small ghettos and get rid of unbiased fears. Immigrants should expand the tradition of self criticism and take their share from the polarization within the society. Immigrants should see the police, state and judicial branches of the countries

³⁷ For more information about the research results, please see; <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article11323763/Deutsche-sehen-Islam-kritischer-als-andere-Europaeer.html> (21.05.2014).

where they live in as institutions that serve them in order to take where they belong for granted.

It is true that the integration case we see is not a successful one. But, there is no consensus about the concept of successful integration. The adaptation of an understanding of “*living together model*” based on cultural pluralism, open society model and opportunity equality will turn the expected dynamism from this harmony in European societies into life. Moving from this, the tough test of Europe as a unity of values with Muslims and the foreigners will be one of the most important issues of the 21st century. If the mutual fear is ended and a culture of coexistence is developed, a historical opportunity will appear both for the European and the world history. The peaceful coexistence of identities classified as “European” and “other” will contribute to democratic and liberal future of Europe. Moving from the principle of “*immunity of person’s honor*”, racism as a democracy problem of Europe should be heavily struggled with. Muslims who do not want to be otherized through the “Muslim identity” must show the real face of Islam by dialogue and informing. It is the Muslims who will inspire those people who see Islam as terror and distrust Muslims by trust, tolerance and dialogue.

CHAPTER THREE: ISLAM IN EUROPE: GLOBALIZATION, IDENTITY AND CULTURE

3.1. ISLAMOPHOBIA: BEING A MUSLIM IN EUROPE

The word Islamophobia consists of the combination of ‘Islam’ and “phobos” in Greek. Islamophobia as a concept defines the whole set on prejudices towards Islam and discrimination towards Muslims in all units of daily life in the West (Bloul, 2008: 10-11). A British Think-Tank called Runnymede Trust has published the report named “*Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*” in 1997. In this report, where Islamophobia was used as a concept for the first time, it has been mentioned that an anti-Islamic prejudice dominates the problems Muslim face in the West. It is also mentioned that Islamophobia and anti-Islamism had existed since a very long time in the Western societies, and it reached to excessive and radical points in the last quarter of twentieth century.³⁸ The report defined Islamophobia as “*an unbiased hostility towards Islam*” and it has also been emphasized that Islamophobia is a type of anti-Semitism (Canatan, 2007: 23). According to Aliboni, Islamophobia is defined as an expression of fear and hostility towards Islam, and is a reflecting expression of intolerance of the citizens of one country to the people who migrate into that country, from a broader spectrum (cited by Yilmaz, 2008: 86). From another point of view, the term of “Islamophobia” expresses the fear, hesitation and escape from Muslims and the Islam with no biased reason (Hıdır, 2007: 83).

First elements effective in the formation of the concept of Islam in Europe are the fears and concerns coming deep from the history. When we look from the historical perspective, the perception of Islam and Muslim in Europe has been formed around the discourse which has been used to legitimize the intense wars (the Crusades). Another process which shaped the concept of Islam and Muslim in the West are the Orientalist studies which have been carried out for the last two centuries under the name of “East” studies. The perception of Islam and Muslim

³⁸ Runnymede Trust, ‘Islamophobia: A Challenge For Us All’, (1997), <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/islamophobia.pdf> (13.11.2013).

today is shaped by the historical trails of the past, new global connotations which construct the mental background of “East” studies and the demographic visibility within Europe. Global events such as September 11, terrorist attacks in some European capitals and the cartoon crisis have revoked the fear of Islam in the collective memory of the West. Therefore, the demographic change in Europe and the adaptation problems of Muslim minorities in Europe are on the top of the agenda which shape the perception of Islam and Muslim in Western societies most recently.

Catholic Church played an important role in the shape of images of Muslim and Islam in the middle Ages. The definition of Muslims as heretic societies to be struggled against has become the first negative start in the collective conscience of the West. The rule of Arab Andalusia in Spain and the existence of Ottomans within the borders of Europe for long years have kept the perception of invaders considering Islam and Muslims in the minds of Westerners as a myth always alive. With the Industrial Revolution, Muslims have been subjected to an otherization where Islam is symbolized under Orientalism in the Enlightenment Europe. Orientalist thinkers like Gustave von Grunebaum (1909-1972) have defined Islam as a monolithic, uniform, violent and despot, strict and closed belief system (Said, 1981). The biased information gathering about “Islam” and “East” has been shaped by the Orientalist perception developed within the context of elite, deterministic and obstructive Western criteria. According to Orientalists, “East” represents reactionism, bigotry, radicalism and violence; while West represents development, progress, change and freedoms. In a way, “East” and “West” represent two different universes that live on contrary positions as a whole. Therefore, an image of Islam loaded by the perception of “East” was tried to be constructed for two centuries and that became successful to a certain extent. According to Lueg and Hippler (2002), Islam was degraded to a monolithic and fundamentalist simplicity and shown as a threat to the West (cited by Budak, 2008: 55). Orientals understanding which sees Islam as a fundamentalist threat sees the religions such as Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism as a part of their cultural identities. The reason of constructing a threatening image of Islam in the West is

the idea that speculative fears legitimize the socio-cultural, political and economic interests of the West.

Our old world, which has been a cradle for thousands of civilizations is full with painful experiences about living together with the “other” since the first man and first prophet, Adam. Almost in all centuries, there have been cruel wars, genocides and oppressions in the struggle between the “settled ones” and the “others”. The victims who first come to mind as a case of the struggle between the “settled ones” and the “others” are the Muslims and Jews in Andalusia Spain and Jews in Hitler’s Germany. Many adjustments on the struggle with Anti-Semitism have been conducted in the Continental Europe after the greatest genocide of 20th century. In spite of all the precautions taken; the attack to a Jewish school in France (2012), serial murders in Germany which are recorded as the “Doner Killings” (2000-2006) and the slaughters in Norway (2011) indicate that the victims have been diversified. The religious and ethnic diversity of the victims also indicate that the real reason of the terror is not religion, but that it is a combination of political, economic and psychological factors (Cırhinlioğlu and Bulut, 2010: 319). Therefore, it is a necessity to put a political and social stance forward in terms of struggling against “Islamophobia” and “xenophobia” within Europe, similar with the struggle against anti-Semitism.

Violations of human rights and democracy in some Muslim countries because of the existence of authoritarian regimes cause prejudices towards all the Muslims in the West. Iran’s Islamic Revolution (1979), caused the resurrection of biases and racist attitudes against Islam in the West (Canatan, 2007: 45). Historian Bernard Lewis (1990: 47-60) and Alan Gresh (2005: 18-19) have shown the Islamic fundamentalism and fanaticism as enormous threats for Western civilization. Today, radical Islamic fundamentalism and fanaticism threaten Muslims as well as the Western societies. According to Fred Halliday (1999: 897-898) the historical fear of Islam in the West, Islamophobia is replaced with “anti-Muslim” feelings today. Radical Islamic fundamentalism which motivates the Western societies with a concern and fear reflects the lives of European Muslims as “otherization” and “exclusion”. Muslims who have been otherized and excluded

get more isolated from the society and become more radicalized. The analyses show that social exclusion and otherization pushes the Muslims into ghettos and introversion. Ethnic ghettos and introversion have defined the national and religious identities but it does not show us that these groups are under the influence of radical Islam (Şen, 2006: 127-128). Ghettos and the reality of a parallel society of which the relations are limited with the majority of the society is a problem that should be faced and these are the social strata where extremism might get stronger.

The real expression of Islamophobia, which has deep roots in the Continental Europe, happened after the September 11 attacks. A process where fear of Islam has transformed into an anti-Islamism after the Istanbul (2003), Madrid (2004) and London (2005) attacks and where Islam began to be mentioned by terror and violence in Europe (SDE, 2011). The Center of Turkish Studies (TAM) from Essen University has implemented a project in 2005 to observe the changes in the perception of Islam in Germany after the terrorist attacks of September 11. Samples were chosen from the official speeches in the Federal German Parliament and the unofficial discourses of the most efficient cultural and political magazine of Germany, *der Spiegel* and *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ)*, one of the most read newspapers in Germany. This study compared the official speeches in the Federal German Parliament in two terms; first one is between September 11 2000 - September 11, 2001 and the second one is between September 29, 2003 and September 29, 2004. According to this, in the first period before September 11 the speeches which have indicated Muslims as terrorists are 5.8%, in the second period which is 2 years after September 11 this rate has risen to 10,5%. Again, the speeches which consider Islam as a threat in the first period were 3.3%, and this rate increased to 7,7% in the second period. Speeches about the incoherency of Islam with West were 1,5% in the first period, and this rate increased to 5,5% in the second period. This table revealed by the official statement clearly shows that there is a negative change in the perception of Islam after September 11. On the other hand, a serious increase has been observed in the unofficial statements of two giant media organs. According to this, “Muslims as terrorist” theme by *der Spiegel*

before September 11 was 26,4%, and this rate increased to 31,3% after September 11. The same rates in WAZ have increased from 19,4% to 22,5% and the insistence to identify the Muslims as a terrorist continued. References to Islamic danger have increased from 20,6% to 37,7% in WAZ; and from 26,4 % to 33,5% in *der Spiegel*. Contrary to official statements in the Federal Germany Parliament and the unofficial statements in two media organs; the statements in favor of Muslims have almost decreased by half after the events of September 11 (Halm et. al. 2007; cited by Budak, 2008: 43-45).

One of the facts which disseminated the concept of “internal threat” and caused discussions about “respect to freedoms and to the sacred” globally is the cartoon crisis in Denmark. Cartoons, which were published in *Jyllands-Posten* newspaper of Denmark in 2005 and then were published in numerous newspapers and magazines, are drawings which associate the Prophet of Islam with violence. 12 cartoons of the Prophet of Islam were selected through a competition and published in *Jyllands-Posten* newspaper on September 30, 2005 Sunday under the name “Faces of Mohammad”. Reactions towards these cartoons in Muslim countries were violent and helped to reinforce the clichés about the incoherency of Islam with the Western values (Budak, 2008: 49). Western media has identified the violence against cartoons in Muslim countries with Islam and have tried to show religious fundamentalism and fanaticism as elements that belong to the essence of Islam. But, radicalism and fanaticism may appear in many ideologies and worldviews, with reference to violence. The cartoon scenarios structured on proving the thesis of “Muslims are violent and intolerant people”, have always been witnessed in different models and in different periods. These plays are staged almost in every period and they cause the desired reactions in Western public opinion, as well as the reactions in Islamic countries which sometimes result with violence. A research³⁹ indicates that 60% of the Americans, 67% of the French, 62% of the Germans, 59% of the British and 53% of the Spanish consider Muslims as

³⁹ ‘The Great Divide: How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other’ (2006), Pew Research Global Attitudes Project, for more information please see; <http://www.pewglobal.org/2006/06/22/the-great-divide-how-westerners-and-muslims-view-each-other/> (18.11.2013).

intolerant because of the Cartoon crisis (Canatan, 2007: 45-47). The respect shown by Western countries to the freedom of thought and expression sometimes might push the limits of others' value systems, as in the cartoon crisis. It is an example of intolerance to criticize the just reactions of people –as long as they do not resort to violence- whose value limits are pushed. It is an undisputable fact that as long as we have respect to other people and their values, then we will have the right to be respected.

Historical and cultural prejudices that constitute the unseen face of Islamophobia have been reawakened by different levels of provocations and agitations especially in the post September 11 period. Behind the provocations and agitations such as Indian originated British citizen Salman Rushdie's novel named "*the Satanic Verses*" (1988), movie named "*Submission*" (2004) which has been issued in the Netherlands and insulted Islam, cartoon crisis in Denmark (2005), the attempt of the American reverend Terry Jones to burn the Qur'an (2010) and the movie "*the Innocence of the Muslims*" (2012) issued in USA which insulted Muslims and the prophet of Islam is the aim to identify Muslims and Islam with violence and hatred. The understanding of democracy which convicted anti-Semitism, one of the worst parts of the European history, implies the concepts of freedom of thought and expression when it is about Islam and Muslims; and this is another epiphany of double standard. Therefore, it is compulsory to accept Islamophobia as a hate crime and crime against humanity just like anti-Semitism in the West and the legal adjustments to be conducted immediately.

Discussions about religious fundamentalism and extremism have received a new dimension after the July 2011 Norway attacks. Serial killings committed by nationalist and radical Anders Behring Breivik in Oslo and the Island of Utoya, have been recorded as the greatest mass murder since World War II in Norway. The slaughter of youth who were members of the Norwegian Labor Party (Ap) on the Island of Utoya was perceived as a threat to the texture of Norwegian and the European society. The possibility of turning Breivik's anti immigrant and anti Islam statements into an anti-immigrant reaction in Europe has surfaced new fears. The tradition of taking the Muslims responsible for

every problem in Europe and the humiliation of Muslims has become a widespread problem in Europe. Some radical and marginal political parties within Europe have chosen to use these current events for their own interests and gained important victories.⁴⁰ On the other hand, discussions about struggle with racism/nationalism were witnessed in European Council and in the authorized organs of the member countries after the slaughters in Norway. Extremist right parties point the foreigners who do not compromise to integration as the reason of polarization; meanwhile foreigners think that the reason of polarization is the inadequacy of legal codifications about radicalism and racism. As the visibility of foreigners and Muslims as stakeholders of the societies in Europe increase, the distinctive and exclusionary reactions increase. Whatever the case is, it is not acceptable to identify Islam with terror and violence. It should be known that every religion, ideology or culture can easily find volunteers to use in terrorist activities.

The increase of racism and the decrease in the tolerance level to multiculturalism since Muslims have been considered as a security threat in Europe makes it hard to live together. Especially the high rate of votes that extremist right parties in Europe have increased in the last years is the result of a reaction towards pluralism and diversities. Extreme right parties in Europe seek support with their political statements such as the end of multiculturalism, Islamophobia and xenophobia. The concern of keeping Europe as an island of wealth after September 11 is one of the main reasons of the effectiveness of extreme right in internal and external affair (Leiken, 2004). As Cecilia Malmström, the internal affairs member of the European Commission mentioned, *“The EU has never before seen so many far-right parties in elected bodies since the Second World War... In many countries, xenophobia, populism and racism are on the rise”*.⁴¹ The biases and fears especially encouraged by

⁴⁰ Yanarışık, Oğuzhan (2011), ‘Geliyorum Diyen Felaket: Norveç Katliamı’, Radikal Newspaper. For more information, please see; <http://akademikperspektif.com/2011/07/26/geliyorum-diyen-felaket-norvec-katliami/> (23.12.2013).

⁴¹ Nielsen, Nikolaj (2013), ‘Growing racism spurs rise in extremist parties, commission says’, EU Observer, available at <http://euobserver.com/justice/120905> (05.01.2014).

printed and visual media and extreme-right politicians threaten the social peace in the Continental Europe. Radical and racist parties which could not develop policies in the context of human rights, freedoms and universal legal values are trying to establish a public opinion based on xenophobia, Islamophobia and concerns for social security. Hostility towards Islam and Muslims which has deep historical roots in the West, especially reached the peak point after September 11 terrorist attacks. The fact that the radical group that committed the September 11 terrorist attacks was Muslims, caused the Muslims to be considered as a more problematic group comparing with other immigrants, therefore the widespread of Islamophobia. Terrorist attacks in Madrid (2004) and in London (2005) have put the Muslims as the focus point of fear and concerns in Europe (Yılmaz, 2008: 82). The atmosphere of fear and hatred which reached to the level of threat for Europe's future and internal peace, is becoming more contradictory every day with the narrow-minded and exclusionist statements of some irresponsible politicians.

Great changes have been witnessed in the Continental Europe after World War II with the effect of immigrations, especially in terms of socio-economic, cultural and religious diversity. One of the most visible sides of this demographic diversity, Muslims, began to be perceived as the "others" in continental Europe and polarized every day, which brought new concerns together. Especially the public opinion polls conducted after September 11 in Europe indicates that the number of people who considered Muslims as a threat to social security in Europe increased. One of the ideas which created this perception of threat in the minds of Westerners is the evaluation of Muslims through exotically Eastern historical images. Western societies, which evaluate East through the Crusades in the middle Ages and as a "the Trojan horse" reached into the Europe, consider Muslims as a threat, either voluntarily or non-voluntarily (Ramadan, 2005). Today, Muslims are not only considered as "external enemy", but also as an "internal enemy" (Canatan, 2007: 53-57). The terrorist attacks Al-Qaeda arranged in cities like Istanbul (2003), Madrid (2004) and London (2005), have strengthened the feeling that

there was a contradiction with the “*the enemy within*”⁴² in the collective sub consciousness (Göle, 2010:22). Even though most of the Muslims have become the citizens of the countries where they live, these fears and concerns are still alive in the minds of the Westerners.

On the other hand, following and opening of the files for the members of some Muslim religious/ethnic groups and their members through the “*threat within*” concept carries the radical tendencies within the minorities to extreme and dangerous ends. In the strengthening of these radical tendencies in Europe, Muslim minorities also have a great responsibility along with the anti-democratic implementations that have been widespread after September 11. Within the process of socialization; generations grew up with unemployment, biases and xenophobia are stuck between the European modernity and conservative attitudes. These generations could not create a healthy culture and belonging to identity, and referring the Islamic identity because of their concern that their own cultural identity will melt and disappear within the Western culture. A certain part of the Muslim minority groups who have isolated themselves from the dominant society become the fanatics of radical organizations in ethnic/religious ghettos where they live introversively with distrust and ambiguity.

One of the groups that is affected mostly from the anti-Islam movements and racism that is rising in Europe is with no doubt the Muslim Turkish society. Dangerous movements such as anti-Islamism, xenophobia and racism have deep roots in European history which would affect the rhythm and flow of daily life. The great military power, different cultural identity and religious understanding of the Ottomans in the period of establishment and rise, made them to be perceived as a military, cultural and religious threat in the eyes of Westerners. In the socio-economic equation and the global terror events today; Islam, Muslims and Turks have become the focus of fear, threat and otherness for some sections of the

⁴² *The Economist* used the term “*the enemy within*” for the first time in the article named “*Muslim Extremism in Europe*” written after July 2005 London attacks. For more information, please see; <http://www.economist.com/node/4174260> (19.11.2013).

European Union (Akdemir, 2013: 20). The half century long existence of the European Turkish society in Europe, who are considered as the new representatives of the Ottoman Empire seems to awakened the fictional fears in the history. Islam is considered as one of the most determinant characteristics of the national identity of European Turkish society. The words said by the Serbian General Ratko Mladic who committed genocide on Bosnian Muslims show the discontent from the Turkish identity; *“It is time to revenge Muslims in the name of rebellion against Turks”*.⁴³ More dangerous than this statement is the disregard and irresponsibility of the European countries when the Serbian army was executing an ethnic cleansing operation⁴⁴ towards Muslim Bosnians and Croats in the middle of Europe (Göle, 2010: 18). The conservative and otherizing perception which sees the Muslim-Turkish minority as the continuation of the Ottoman Empire, and the understanding which identifies the Turkish identity with Islam directly feed the adversary against Turks in Europe.

The Turkish origin immigrants, who are approximately five million today, have become one of the main targets of the anti-Islam and anti-foreigner polarization in Europe today (Yanarışık, 2013: 2913-14). The global terror events began with September 11 (2001) have directly affected the daily life of the European public and increased the discriminative attitudes and criticism towards the Muslim minorities living in Europe. As the statements which related the terrorist attacks with Islam have increased the attacks on mosques, associations and businesses, destruction of Muslim cemeteries, assaulting to houses and businesses and threaten people seriously.⁴⁵ Arson attack of the houses of Turks in Mölln (1992),

⁴³ *‘Srebrenica, a Cry from the Grave’*, directed by Leslie Woolhead explains the Srebrenica slaughter. This documentary was published in 1999, received awards in four film festivals and used to illuminate the war crimes by the court in The Hague, the Netherlands. For more information, please see; <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/srebrenica-cry-from-the-grave/> (11.10.2013)

⁴⁴ Appeal Office of International Criminal Court has officially accepted that the slaughter of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica, 1995 is genocide. This ethnic genocide, where approximately 8.000 Muslim adult and children were killed by Serbian forces, has been recorded as the worst slaughter in Europe after World War II (Göle, 2010: 19)

⁴⁵ The report of Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA), Human Rights Investigation Commission Presidency’s *“Racist and Xenophobic Actions in Europe Towards the People from Turkey”* includes the data and evaluation of 2013. For more information, please see;

Solingen (1993) and Ludwigshafen (2008) and slaughter of people living inside including children and women and the bombing of a street in Cologne where Turks were living intensely (2004) reveal the dimensions of the physical attacks alone. According to the data of Berlin based Amadeu-Antonio Trust, 182 people lost their lives because of the extreme right terror in Germany since 1990.⁴⁶ Murdering of 8 Turks, 1 Greek and 1 German police by radical nationalist Neo-Nazis reveals the terrible situation. More desperately, there are very serious findings which show the close relations between Neo-Nazi terrorist groups and the German deep state structures (Yanarışık, 2013: 2915). Today, the discrimination towards “others” in many European countries, with Germany on the top is considered as an ordinary thing. Most visible side of this is the existence of extreme right parties in the parliaments with their discriminative and racist policies. With the polarizing statements of the representatives of racist parties, European public opinion is getting used to this situation and “others” are continued to be disregarded.

Respect, inclusion and protection of all ethnic and religious elements in the 21st century Europe are the irrevocable acquisitions of the democratic standards we have reached. A group of Western intellectuals and politicians who consider Muslims as a part of Western cultural mosaic and take an objective approach to the adaptation problems of foreigners contribute to the proliferation and development of a culture of tolerance in Europe. It is for the interest of everyone if Westerners and Muslims who believe in basic values, freedoms and democratic law norms could establish a livable world in Europe. Constitutions of many European countries and European Court of Human Rights have assured the foreigners against discrimination in terms of basic human rights and religious freedoms. It is an undisputable fact that Muslims and non-Muslims are living peacefully and in trust within Europe, thanks to these assured basic rights and freedoms (Ramadan, 2005: 175-179). But we can't say that the constitutional rights protected by laws are internalized by the public religious or religious diversities which are also considered as constitutional rights and

http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/docs/2014/yabanci_dusmanligi_iceren_eylemeler.pdf (12.02.2014).

⁴⁶ Canşen, Fulya (2011), *‘Aşırı sağ nasıl hortladı: Görmedim, duymadım, bilmiyorum’*, Ntvmsnbc, available at <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25298399/> (14.09.2013).

to struggle against discrimination, racism and Islamophobia are required. Today, some members of the European Union still do not recognize Islam as a religion. on the other hand, we cannot really say that the constitutional rights and freedoms are internalized and embraced by Muslims. As becoming a European citizen does not constitute a situation against Islam; it is not something against the norms and constitutional principles of the West when Muslims want to keep their Islamic identities secure.

3.2. ANTI-ISLAM AND MUSLIM PREJUDICE IN THE WESTERN MEDIA

The rapidly developing mass communication tools in parallel with the technological developments have become the fastest and practical communication devices today. One of the most important functions of mass communication is its role in transferring the news and information correctly and objectively to the society (Büyükbaykal, 2004: 44). Freedom of information and expression is considered as the base of pluralist societies and it is extended in many countries with democratic and legal reforms. In spite of the pluralist reforms, all the different parts of the societies (ethnic, religious or cultural groups) today and the information or wrong ideas about their life styles are left to the initiative of mass communication devices. The economic and financial relation of the media as trade corporations in free competition with pressure and interest groups brings some problems together. Media organs under the monopoly of certain pressure groups may conduct untrue, subjective or deficient news. The occasional news in media organs about ethnic and religious minorities depending on wrong assumptions and prejudices harms the cultural diversity. Within the concept of social state, legal authorities, national and international organizations and press occupational chambers should bring more transparent and applicable sanctions that would protect the individual and the public interest into existence. Providing realistic information about ethnic and religious minorities against the misleading information and cliché perceptions is a necessity of press ethics. Therefore, the opinions of the representatives and experts of minorities should be allowed more intensely in the media to help the

minorities overcome their disadvantages and at least have a chance to express them.

Today, 8.7% of the general population of Europe consists of foreigners who came out of Europe. According to the recent statistics, the rate of unemployment in European Union member countries has exceeded the limit of 10% (Eurostat, 2014). The concerns about future are constantly increasing in the European societies due to the effects of the recent global economic crises. The religious and cultural visibilities of the foreigners with different life and clothing styles make the European societies think that their life style is under threat. Printed and visual media do not fulfill the calming and entrusting role expected from it, but establishes an “*empire of fear*” by conducting subjective publications. News which claim that foreigners are using all the rights given to them by social state and use illegal ways to receive rent/unemployment aid are constantly published in the mainstream media. Also the Western media is in close cooperation with the racist and conservative political parties which try to receive more public support in its race to create a “*negative image*”. Shameful crimes conducted by foreigners are given more importance by the Western media and more news about criminal events in which foreigners are involved can be seen.

Adjectives such as “primitive”, “violence”, “fundamentalist”, “authoritarian” and “backward” are constantly used before and after the word of Islam in Western media and prejudices about the Muslims are constructed in the public opinion. In some media organizations which inform the public opinion in a wrong way; concepts of democracy, freedom of thought and tolerance are always considered as values unique for the Western societies (Çarhoğlu, 2007: 209-211). Media sector, as a part of the capitalist market economy, seems to neglect the foreigners who don’t have the socio-economic capabilities. In social media, news and videos which will increase the hatred, racism and xenophobia are often shared. Most popular social sharing sites on the Internet; Facebook, Twitter, MySpace and YouTube are used more by radical and extremist groups (The Report of the Group of Eminent Persons of the Council of Europe, 2011). The otherizing and polarizing publications by the Western media against Muslims after the September 11 attacks do not abide by the

principles of responsible broadcasting. The interview given by the president of Belgian extreme-right party the Vlaams Belang (VB), Filip Dewinter to the so-called liberal newspaper of Israel, Ha'aretz summarizes the final point in xenophobia. Dewinter said "*Islam is now No.1 enemy not only of Europe, but of the entire of free world...There are already 25-30 million Muslims on Europe's soil and this becomes a threat. It is a real Trojan horse*"⁴⁷ and played his polarizing role. According to Armstrong (2004), religious fundamentalism is often used in Western media as a term referring to Islam. But, religious fundamentalism is a global reality which could not be defined only with a single religion (cited by Budak, 2008: 58). Therefore, this can be considered as another "Islamization cry" which is a part of an engineering of putting the Muslims and Islam into a negative connotation, conducted by the Western media.

In Western public opinion, artificial agenda have been created by media which build the polarization of "*we and others*" in a hidden way on the collective minds and daily life. These artificial agendas created through instrumentalized fears can cause decisions against freedoms, such as the ban of minarets in mosques by a referendum in Switzerland. Minarets are the structures which make the mosques, which is the common prayer area for Muslims, visible in the streets and where prayers are being read five times a day, have been made materials of these artificial agendas through this "*perception of fear*". Even though minaret is not a religious necessity for the mosques, this ban is a clear indicator of Europe's backwardness about religious and conscience freedom. On the other hand, the movie "*Fitna*" (2008) which contains insult to Qur'an, holy book of Islam, and to the Prophet of Islam was exculpated by the Dutch courts. In September 2005, a conservative right press organ in Denmark, a newspaper called *Jyllands-Posten* has published irrespective and provocative cartoons about the Prophet of Islam. 150 innocent people have lost their lives during the protests against these cartoons occurred in Middle East and South Asia. The embassies of Denmark were attacked in the capitols where violent protests got intense and the Danish flag was burned down

⁴⁷ Adi Schwartz (August 2005), 'Between Haider and a hard place', for more information, please see; <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/features/between-haider-and-a-hard-place-1.168287> (05.01.2014).

(Brun and Hersh, 2008). But the administrative and judicial authorities of Denmark have considered these cartoons within the scope of “*freedom of thought*” and rejected the legal appeals to stop the publication. It seems that the concept “*respect for the sacred*” has been taken out of the literature and was replaced by “*respect for sacred freedoms*”. One of the most important steps which keep individuals and societies together and facilitate the mutual understanding is the respect to different life styles and sacred things. As the fears which stem from religious and cultural differences cannot be overcome, Islamophobia is improving in the West today and anti-Westernism in Islam world is getting stronger every day. It is very important to use the religious freedoms and freedom of expression, both in media and in front of the public opinion, in a very sensual and careful way. It is a prerequisite for the multicultural and multi-religious Western societies do have respect the sacred stuff and the cultural values and condemn the race/religion exploiters.

Official and unofficial studies about the perception of Muslims and foreigners in European societies reveal very bleak results. Traditional manners and customs such as honor killings, terrorist incidents, intra-family violence, female circumcision, multiple marriages, violence on the streets, ethnic/cultural ghettos and a scarf named ‘burqa’ that shape the perception of Muslims in European public opinion are used very often by the media. But, in reality, terror is strictly forbidden in Islam and all types of violence and cruelty towards life, good, family, women, kids and elderly people is prohibited. In Qur’an, it is mentioned that killing a person is like killing all the humanity. In spite of this the nationalist and conservative politicians along with irresponsible media employees present these generalizations as a reality, which are far away from picturing the majority of the Muslim society. According to Şen (2006), the most important reason why this unreal situation appeared is the continuation of adaptation problem by Muslims. Even though the foreigners from Eastern European countries also have adaptation problems about education, unemployment and social security; Muslims and Turks are more prominent. After the attacks of September 11 New York (2001), Istanbul (2003), Madrid (2004) and London (2005), the delusional propaganda about Muslims in the Western media and disinformation strengthened the hand of radical Islamists and European radical

racists. As Islam and terror are displayed together on the media screen very often, this causes a great disappointment for the Muslims who condemn terror.

The usage of Islam and terror next to each other with indiscretion increases the prejudices against the Muslims. The single civilization single culture, single civilization and single idea projected for the Continental Europe contains an action which would eliminate the cultural differences, pluralism and creativity. It is understood that the monotypic religious/cultural model in Europe cannot be forced upon Muslims or non-European foreigners. Therefore, Europe needs a pluralist society model where all cultures can survive together, instead of a centralized and monotypic cultural model. Nevertheless, media as one of the most effective centers of power to carry the news and information into larger platforms imposes its own image of Islam on the masses and tries to create a global public opinion in the West. Edward W. Said's evaluation on his work named "Covering Islam", how the image of Islam was created in the global public opinion is very important; *"What I say is that the negative images on Islam are not basically about Islam itself, but basically ideas of the effective people in a certain society about Islam. These people want to impose their own image of Islam and that is the reason why their images are more relevant and on the agenda than the others."* (Said, 2000: 124) Today, one of the main factors that make the integration of Muslim minorities with the local majorities very hard is the "operation of images" as mentioned above. The model of *"living together"* should be internalized by European Union, European nations and media to reach a society based on cultural pluralism, open society and equality of opportunities.

3.3. TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THE TURKISH SOCIETY

The basic problematique of this title is the perception of modernization, culture of democracy and liberal thought which are disseminating with the help of globalization, by Muslims in general and the European Turkish society in particular. It is no doubt that each civilization and society has a unique characteristic and historical past produced by time. The perception of culture of democracy, modernization and liberalism within the globalization process is highly related with the social character

and historical background of Muslims and Turks in the West who are coming from a Sunni tradition.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the invasion of the Ottoman lands by Western allies and the colonization of these lands in the second half of the same century have created a reaction against West and the Western values. Therefore, the movements of democratization and modernization in the West after World War II have been suspiciously considered by the Muslim societies. The perception of the West-centered modernization the societies except it as underdeveloped, not modern and societies that need to be transformed is an ideological and ethno centrist approach. Therefore the Western arrogant, homogeneous and imperialist understanding of modernity since the second half of the twentieth century could not find any support in the Islam world except for some intellectual circles. Economic and political modernization had an enormous effect throughout the world after globalization, although it was not very effective in the Islamic world. One of the reasons of this is the strength of traditionalist conservative perception's historical and religious rhetoric and the self-definition of the political Islam against the West. Of course the traditional Islamist or the political Islamist perceptions are not the sole responsible of this situation. The ego of the West and its distrusted foreign policy has disabled the modernization process in Islamic societies. Therefore, as globalization is considered as the bearer of Western values and culture, the effect of modernization in Muslim societies was not as it was projected to be. But still, some societies have achieved to modernize by protecting their traditionality. Türkdoğan (1995: 247) exemplifies the Asia Pacific countries with Islamic identities, such as Japan and Malaysia, have protected their traditional societal structures and achieved modernity in a greater extent.

Societies are in a constant socio-economic and cultural process of change. But modernization is a wide spectrum social and cultural transformation process that aims to deliver any society to a modernized and progressive modernization perception. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, the most powerful representative of the modernity theory, defines modernity as a change in the social, economic and political systems developed in Western Europe and North America (cited by Türkdoğan, 1995: 242). One of the most important social reflexes modernity confronted is the conservatism

which has a suspicious attitude towards progress and development. Conservatism implies tradition against change wants to sustain the previous traditions and institutions and attributes sacredness with traditions (Yılmaz, 2003: 94-95). One of the most important reasons of conservatism's cautious and even negative attitude towards change and modernity is the tradition. There are two important reference points in the roots of conservatism's adherence for tradition. First of these is the relation between tradition and religion. And second one is the importance given to the knowledge which is acquired by beliefs and experiences, which are beyond the limited human mind. The most important factor of the rejection of abstract mind by the conservatives is their care for information gathered through experience. According to Vincent (1992: 73), the reason why conservative idea, which defends traditions and habits against the Enlightenment philosophy, is the idea that the starting point of human action is not the theoretical mind, but traditions, prejudices and habits. The concept of prejudice as mentioned here is not an irrational behavior but pre information created by the distillation of experience acquired through generations (Akıncı, 2009: 141-143). So, in response to the change and progress together with globalization which is run by Western originated modernization; conservatism showed a conscious and traditionalist counter approach.

Modernization is also considered as the abandonment of Middle Ages' mentality; and considered as "Westernization" and "Modernization" in non-Western countries. As the positivist and rational ideas along with the secular understandings in the historical development of modernity could not be understood by the non-Western societies, this process has been experienced in a very argumentative line. The existence of positivist movements which began by Enlightenment, the exclusion of the holy word against science, and the comprehension of rational values instead of religious and ethical ones have negatively affected the modernization trend in Muslim societies (Aydm, 2000: 87-95). On the other hand, according to İnalçık (2007) modernization is not a compulsory Westernization. Today we witness that the Muslim societies (e.g. Arabs) are reject for Westernization, but they are trying to adapt themselves into modernity. Westernization, as a concept of relocating itself with a West centered civilization and cultural understanding has been responded with reaction in many Muslim countries. First of all Christianity is at the historical

background of the Western culture. But, according to Islamic traditionalists, Islamic science is different from modern science in terms of its nature and essence. Therefore, traditional Islamists are against modernization. They operate the methodology of Qur'an in response to the equivalency of modernization with Westernization (Türkdoğan, 1995: 243).

Liberal thought, one of the basic trivets of globalization after the Cold War, was not as criticized as modernity in the Muslim societies. Liberal thought in Muslim world had more supporters in the intellectual circles, comparing with modernity. Concept of "*Liberal Islam*" in Muslim societies as a response to the understanding of Liberalism in Western societies became apparent. The reason why this concept became so popular is to show the liberal approach of Islam in fields such as democracy, politics, public sphere, human rights, women's rights and freedoms etc. Nevertheless, the claims that liberalism is a modern and Western originated concept and does not fit the Islamic traditions caused the criticism of "*liberal Islam*" by many sections of the society (Kurzman, 2002: 233-244). In response to these criticisms, intellectual circles have mentioned that the acquisitions of Islam in result of its relations with other civilizations and through its historical interactions are because of its understanding called "*open Islam*". According to those intellectual circles, the claim that an open and liberal Islam does not suit with democracy is not a valid evaluation (Özdalga, 1999). The recognition of different religions in the first years of Islam, existence of numerous different sects and orders within Islam and the implementation of Christian and/or non-Muslim societies' own laws during the reign of Islam are the indicators that Islam was built on democratic pluralism (Akdemir, 1997: 269-272).

As dominant civilizations and cultures consider their social models as the most ideal approach, other cultures and identities are pushed into different pursuits. The apprehension and internalization of the multicultural and multi identity pluralist society project by the West will determine the future of Europe and the minorities. The claim of a possible clash of civilizations and cultures in the West indicates that the understanding of multiculturalism and pluralism could not overcome the problems yet. But, a pluralist world order is needed in the eve of third millennium, which will prevent the intra- and inter-civilization conflicts turn into social clashes.

According to Şentürk, a multilayered thought named “*open science*” must be placed instead of the single layered “*closed science*” which is also called as positivism in the recent age. Approach of “*open science*” is the base for a pluralist political culture and “*open society*” (Şentürk, 2007: 42). These pluralist approaches prevent the transformation of different ideals and ideas into political and social struggles and conflicts. Different political ideas and ideals will have a chance of coexistence thanks to open society. The reason why civilizations and cultures consider their own societal models as the most ideal approach stems from their traditionalist and closed characteristics. The background of mono typist, monolithic and fundamentalist ideas in Islam and Western civilizations is consisted of the closed society understanding. Closed society is the biggest obstacle for Western civilization and democracy today. Understanding of closed society has deep impacts on polarizing, radical and racist actions. In response to Harvard Professor S. Huntington’s closed and monolithic idea which divides the world into two sections such as Western and non-Western; an understanding of multi-cultural civilization and open world order must be supported as witnessed in the history. Ibn Khaldun’s understanding of civilization⁴⁸ must replace Huntington’s (Şentürk, 2007: 32-49).

Religion and religious traditions in the West have played an important role in preventing, delaying or providing the transitions to democracy. Religion has a function of slowing the social change, but it also has a function of keeping the society together against the fragmentations which might occur during social changes and societal differentiations. The approaches which claim that religion is an obstacle for change and progress are not as relevant as before in the social sciences. New approaches on this area indicate that religion does not prevent progress, but has a functionality of reinforcing those (Okumuş, 2009: 330-331). According to Lipset (1994), best example for the reinforcement of change for democratization is Protestantism. Chile and Peru are two examples where Protestantism developed

⁴⁸ According to the Muslim intellectual Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) who was raised in a multi civilizational culture, conflicts among civilizations do not stem from different values and cultures. Conflicts among civilizations stem from the attempt of one civilization to become dominant on the other one. Therefore, according to Ibn Khaldun’s understanding of civilization, the causes of clash of civilizations are not the cultural differences, but the political interests and attempts in the name of global hegemony (Şentürk, 2013: 18-19).

very close relations with democracy and where religion was very reinforcing in the progress. The reflection of religion's role to provide the social integrity in Islam is the social dimension of Tevhid (Unity), in other words, unity of society. Looking from this perspective, social unity and integrity is one of the prerequisites of Islam (Okumuş, 2009: 330-331). Therefore, as the religion of Islam is built upon the "Tevhid principle", it is interested in the whole life of society and person. "Tevhid principle" also regulates the otherworldly life of the individual (Arslanel, 2006: 121-122). Besides, Islam does not welcome monotypic and monotonous life. Islam has developed an understanding which takes the individual as the base instead of a caste of class or a specific community. Therefore Islam is a religion which predicates on individual's rights and freedoms, and is open to democracy.

It is very important to understand the attitude of Sunni- Muslim Turkish society who has been living in Europe for more than half a century towards modernity and also objectively analyze the process in Turkey in the last decades. The process of "modernization" and "Westernization" in Turkey began in the nineteenth century when the military, economic and political reforms in Ottoman state got intense. One of these reform movements, Tanzimat period has shaped the Turkish modernization around three different ideologies of pan-Islamism, pan-Turkism and pro-Westernism (Safa, 1997: 27-65). The new vision Turkey under the direction of Atatürk principles and reforms during the Republic had two basic projects. First of those is the positivist social project which denies the past and takes progress as reference; and the second one is a social project which positions itself against the compelling positivist ideas of the West (İrem, 1997: 90-91). On the other hand, there are three approaches towards modernity in Turkey. First one is the traditional attitude that rejects modernity. Second one is the pan-Turkish/pan-Islamist attitude that defends to acquire the positive sides of the Western culture such as its science and technology, but leaving other parts aside. Third one is the radical attitude which prefers to receive all the modern inputs of the West, no matter what. In sum, the idea of modernization has been a huge argument in the Turkish society with no standards reached yet (Karakaş, 1998: 1697).

The determinant role of religion, tradition and modernity between the generations of European Turkish society is interchanging. The first generation Turkish immigrants give a great importance to Islam and Islamic traditions in their daily lives. The first generation of Turkish immigrants did not participate to the societal and social life in the countries where they lived; and they show more conservative and introversive tendencies. But their conservative and religious tendencies do not turn into fundamental religious and radical Islamic understandings. The generations born and raised in Europe have a tendency to use the religious traditions and modern values together in their own cultural identities. In other words, new generations cope with their own cultural codes and the democratic, liberal and modern norms of the West when they establish their own cultural identities (Kaya, 1999: 43).

The most obvious result of contact and cultural interaction with the Western societies for the immigrants is the change in the meaning and importance of religion. According to Beyer (1994: 90-92), conservative values such as otherworldliness, closeness and differences along with liberal values such as pluralism, worldliness and openness provide two important options to re-understanding of the religion in the West. On contrary to the liberal understanding where performance is taken as a base, conservative understanding represents the challenge of tradition to novelty and the effort to make the religious life more visible (cited by King, 1993: 33). According to M. King the understanding of religious identity which protects the society and family members against crime, corruption and alienation turns Muslims into individuals open for interaction both in house and in their business life (King, 1993: 33-34). According to Berger, who has a conservative and traditionalist stance against modernity (1979: 101-112), individualism and secularization are only two of the dilemmas of modernity. Berger also believes that the uncertainty and distrust that modernity caused in the sphere of religion cannot be filled with secular systems or public institutions. Kaya (2004) claims that the communities which take religion as a reference within the “European Turkish minority” do not conflict with modernity and globalization; and says that Islam and current moderate communitarian tendencies can provide an alternative modernity practice.

According to Smith (1992) and Share (1996), Europeanization is the name given to the transition from a stage where economic unity and integrity is completed, to a political stage where creating a common identity is being targeted. The aim of creating a common identity seems to have lost its chance of success with the rise of nationalist sentiments against globalization. National identities show different types of reactions against globalization. The rise of extreme-right and nationalist political parties in Europe can be explained by this defensive reflex of the national identities towards the global understandings. The project of EU, which began with the attempt of several politicians and political scientists, has turned into a political identity, but it seems to lack the public support to achieve its targets of European identity, European values and Europeanism (Ongur, 2009: 250-252). Therefore, it would be a mistake to expect the European immigrants' internalization of Europeanization, as it is not internalized even by the member states and the masses within those.

Globalization has brought a new cultural understanding which is called multiculturalism, that challenges most of the traditional and nation-state sovereign cultures. Globalization has also made the East-West discussions of Orientalism meaningless. Orientalism has been grounding a very deep feeling of "otherness" towards foreign cultures since 17th century. With the appearance of globalization and the multicultural politics, alienation was imported to all societies and "otherness" was petted. With the collapse of communism, Islam started to represent the danger which communist threat had before. But Islam is becoming an "internal" part of the Western world –as it was before- on a daily basis. If Islam has a function of challenging the Western political system, this challenge occurs from within the Western societies themselves. Countries such as England, the Netherlands and Germany had to accept the birth of a civil society at different levels. Globalization adds a series of traditions to each society by causing the diversification and complexity of the cultures (Turner, 2003: 173).

3.4. GLOBALIZATION, IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN EUROPE

Since the world became a little village with Globalization, the interaction of different cultures and identities has increased as never before. As new actors started to be on the stage with the increase of a global scale of movements, they have also started to increase their influence areas and representative power. The intensity and prevalence of the global relations are transforming and homogenizing the local cultures, in other words, pushing those into a disorder. The problem of co-existence of different civilizations and cultures in a tolerant environment is the threshold of the level of civilization where humanity has reached. Civilization is an order of belief and norms; and it provides the cultural belongings within it to change under certain conditions, but sometimes it stands against those changes. What kind of a struggle for existence is given by the European Turkish society in the West, where different cultures and beliefs try to live in a harmony? How are the socio-cultural dimensions of the transformation of European Turkish society, as one of the most important representatives of Islam in West, within itself? How does the Turkish identity position itself in the West where conflicts are based on identity and religious differences? Answers of these questions were looked for under two titles; first one considers the stance of Turks in Europe on the dilemma of cherishing and losing their own culture and cultural values in our current world where cultural change and progress is experienced unbelievably fast. Second title considers the historical development of European identity, its effect and affections, European citizenship, identity search of Muslims as non-Western “others” and the identity search of the Turkish society in Europe.

3.4.1. The Turkish Culture towards Cultural Globalization

The English Anthropologist Edward B. Tylor (1832-1917) defines culture as “*that complex whole which includes the knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society*” in his work named Primitive Culture, published in 1871 (cited by Güvenç, 1985: 22). Calvin Wells (1972: 37-39) considers culture as “*the richness of human life*” and defines it as the accumulation of behavior types and information transferred

among generations. Perceptions, habits and daily practices that become the life style of individuals and societies by time are constructed upon the cultural environment. Hall (1994: 207) emphasizes the cultural diversity shaped by different life styles by saying “*Western Europe does not consist of a single society, single culture or a single ethnicity. All of the modern societies has a cultural hybridism*” (cited by Yağbasan, 2008: 318).

The Turkish Language Association defines culture as “*the whole of the tools used to create and transfer all material and non-material values established throughout the social development process to the next generations, also showing the dimensions of man’s sovereignty on his social environment*”. Culture is an attitude, whereas civilization is be able to know and to do (Turhan, 1987: 37). Culture prepares the grounds of the civilization by its own motives and continues its existence with the help of mature and self standing civilization.

Cultural colors and identities struggle for survival in the process of globalization, but are headed to change and even destruction. According to Smith (2002: 5-6), in the process of globalization where cultures are forced to change, contrasting local differences are emphasized and old cultures are being transformed. When local and national cultures are under the one-sided effect of dominant cultures, they create a reactionary reflex. Local cultures, in response to homogenization and hybridization moves of global culture wither cope with the change or withdraw themselves to prevent any cultural conflicts or identity crises.

Globalization is the dissemination of political, social, economic and cultural values along with the acquisitions around these values, across the national borders. According to Tomlinson (2004: 37-38) globalization is the name of Western dissemination of their victory worldwide with a new method after the Cold War period. In this case, international capital rules over the world and monopolizes (cited by Sezgin, 2009: 258). According to Kongar (2001), globalization has three dimensions; political, economic and cultural. The political dimension of the globalization is defined by the American guidance of world politics as the economic dimension is defined by the dominance of international capital

worldwide. Standardization and homogenization of the world culture represents the cultural dimension of globalization.

One of the most discussed issues in social sciences is the question of how the Western civilization's cultural and ideological oppression on other civilizations will shape the world cultures within the process of globalization? Will the "*intercultural/religious and inter- civilization communications*", becoming more apparent with the increase of technology and communication, cause conflict or dialogue? This chapter emphasizes the ethnic, religious and cultural transformation and progress of European Muslims, and specifically the Muslim Sunni-Turkish society in the process of globalization. Francis Fukuyama (1989), in his famous work "*the End of History*", claimed that ideological conflicts have ended with the end of Cold War and all the nations of the world have to adhere the Western liberal and democratic system. The reason why Huntington's (1993) conflict based paradigm is more criticized and discussed rather than Fukuyama's claim, is that it sheds light on already happening socio-cultural and political movements. September 11 New York attacks, followed by Istanbul, Madrid, London and Moscow bombings have revealed the aforementioned "concept of conflict". Another process which turned the "concept of conflict" into a more functional fact is the US occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan after 2000, and the developments occurred in different countries after these occupations. The mass street movements named as "*the Arab Spring*" and considered as a kind of "democratization and freedom" struggle of Arab societies, have brought new uncertainties together (Gülenç, 2011: 134). According to Muhammed Umara, the process of globalization was activated after West lost its credibility on Islam societies. Umara says that globalization was imposed without any use of force and the cultural texture was tried to be defected. European culture was imposed under the framework of "cultural exchange" and Western civilization became universalized comparing with the other cultures (Umara, 2006: 35-42). With the elimination of bipolar world order, the expectations and concerns about the possible conflicts and struggles between the West and Islam in many areas are still considerable.

The role of Muslims within the Western civilization and their self-definition in terms of identity, culture and belonging is a highly wondered issue in our globalized world. The day by day visible existence of Muslims in North America and Europe demographically has brought many discussions together. On one hand, the increasing number of mosques in European capitals is being used as a tool for referendums and the existence of Muslims is shown as a threat. On the other hand, the new demographic situation and the adaptation problems of Muslims in European capitals are shown as threats to Western cultural identity. Today, Islam is the biggest minority religion in Europe, whereas Muslims are the second biggest ethnic group (Klausen, 2008: 25). Therefore the dimensions of physical proximity and communication of two ancient civilizations exhibit an importance in terms of economic, political and sociological results of globalization. Political participation, basic rights and freedoms, supremacy of law, free market economy and democratic politics are only a few economic and political results of the globalization. This chapter will discuss the effect of sociological results of globalization on the European Turkish society.

The outstanding sociological results of globalization are individualism, modernity, cultural and societal diversity and the intensification of civil society organizations. Civilizations get in contact with other civilization and culture from time to time and improve themselves by acquiring new cultural richness's. Civilization of Islam has internalized the acquisitions in trade, science, bureaucracy, mysticism, philosophy, pluralist society, tolerance and coexistence through its contacts with Ancient Greek, Indian, Chinese and Western civilizations within the last fourteen centuries. In certain periods of this journey, Arab and Turks who represented the Islamic civilization have fought with the representatives of Western civilization. Many of the arguments between East and West refer to those wars and imply why those two great civilizations cannot collide in political, economic and socio-cultural contexts. But, in the last century, even the Protestant countries have declared war on each other. These wars have ended and today they have friendly relations along with political, economic and socio-cultural integration. Therefore, evaluating the past hostilities by using the

concept of “religion” and polarizing the Muslims and Westerners is not a constructive attitude at all.

The relations within themselves and the relation with the host societies of the ethnic and religious minority groups in the West are determined by religion and culture. National/ethnic culture and Islamic culture are still the most determinant two factors for Muslim societies in building individual and societal relations. But, the national/ethnic and religious culture which shape the behavior of Muslims is in interaction with the Western culture and changing every day. The cultural values, consumption habits and the traditional manners and customs of the European Turkish society are in a constant change. Families from Turkey, who reflect their traditional social relations into their daily lives, are still affected from the traditional values and religious patterns within and without the family relations. Age of marriage, marriage choices, birth rates, extramarital relationships, divorce rates and especially the dressing code of women diversify according to the traditional and modern cultural understandings of the immigrants from Turkey. For instance, the marriage choice which is known as *“imported brides and grooms”* has changed during the following years of the immigration and was replaced with marriages with people who also live in Europe and have the same ethnic origin. New generations witness an increase in marriages with spouses from different origins. As a result, the social, cultural, economic and public visibility of the immigrants from Turkey has increased in accordance with the change in their educational and social-occupational statuses, and this visibility has shaped their free choices.

Islam is a “minority religion” in Europe. Muslims have a status of minority not only in number, but also in terms of their social and economic positions. This “backward” social position and minority status of Muslims cause Islam to be perceived as a “backwards religion”. In addition with the external perceptions, the culture shock Muslims experience in the countries they migrate to causes them to hold on their cultures and traditions and become more introversive (Canatan, 2005: 69-76). On the other hand, the post modernization of the culture has caused the questioning of the religion at daily level. Western culture of

consumption corrodes the bases of traditional life styles and decomposes the traditional religious practices at the level of customs (Turner, 2003: 273-274). Religion, which helps the individual to gain a philosophy of life, has lost its mission of establishing the bases of personal relations in social life with modernization (Kula, 2001). Even though the concept of religion has lost its importance in terms of collective belonging with modernization, Islam still has a very important place in the lives of the immigrants from Turkey. The organization of different religious congregations within the European Turkish society under diverse names and expansion of their activities to fulfill the religious needs are indicators of the central position of Islam in the society. Tariq Ramadan (2005: 249-251) thinks that religious identity as one of the most important belongings which define an individual, will vitalize the psychological and national sentiments. Therefore, individuals who consider themselves both as Muslims and Europeans will undoubtedly contribute a lot to coexistence within a pluralist society.

One of the areas where globalization had an enormous effect on has been the language, which transfers the cultural accumulation among generations and provides mutual communication. Native language (Turkish or Kurdish) preferred in intra-family relations and media following remained at very low levels in terms of education, reading and research for the new generations. The failure of young generations in their native languages in the era of communication and information brought together the problem of intergenerational transfer and protection of settled cultural values. On the other hand, individuals who want to be disposed of the social pressures stretch some cultural codes and step out of strict traditional rules. Cultural norms are re-interpreted in the construction of individual freedom spheres and the fulfillment of social requirements such as marriage, business life and public relations.

The deliberative ignorance and the ‘othering’ of the European Turkish society and its culture by the host societies in Europe indicate another dimension of assimilation. The protection of the life styles, consumption cultures and cultural identities of the immigrants from Turkey and their continuation of intra-group integration caused them to be named and criticized as “*parallel society*” and “*ghetto society*” in Germany.

According to Bennet (1993: 23-24), sentimental traumas that appear as a result of oppressions on individuals and groups end with the rejection of culture and values depended on the own. These conscious oppressions and exclusions transform the new generations to individuals who are ashamed of their past as a result of a suspicion on their national historical, cultural and religious values. It is thought that the generations snapped off their original cultures, identities and history will adapt more into the host societies. But, when the individuals start to draw away from their own cultural values, they face with the concept of “other” and start to feel themselves closer to “other”, rather than “own” (Çakır, 2010: 81). Individuals who draw away from their own values will begin to criticize and blemish anything that has a national characteristic, in order to get accepted by the dominant majority or the host society.

The submission of different cultures under the cultural hegemony of Western centered (Euro-American) system within the historical process called “globalization” appears as a “danger of mono types” (Sarwy, 2010). The “European Turkish minority” is a mosaic consisted of different ethnic and cultural communities. There are ‘the Alevi’ and ‘Sunni’ differences in terms of religious belongings. Therefore, the separation of Muslims from Turkey into categorical groups appeared as a ideological and administrative method within the Western culture. For instance, the separation of the Turkish diaspora in Germany into ethnic, religious and ideological associations is a conscious policy conducted through pluralist and democratic approaches. However, instead of categorized alienation and separation of the European Turkish society, if the integrity and commonality of this society was provided, adaptation could be much easier (Çakır, 2010: 83). Generations in reconciliation with their past live their customs, manners and national cultures by internalizing those and can transfer the tolerance and understanding which are the prerequisites of coexistence. The protection of cultural identity, improvement of their culture and the realization of their differences by the ethnic/cultural minorities as a part of European mosaic is the most popular argumentation of the last decade. Protecting their own colors and cultural inheritance in the age of globalization (global homogenization and

standardization) is one of the hardest challenges for ethnic/religious minorities.

According to Canatan (1990), first generations of the migration have reacted to the cultures of the societies of which they are in by two ways. According to this, first group have alienated themselves with their own culture and mixed into the dominant culture; whereas the second group struggled to have a position in the society by protecting their own cultural values and identities. The ones in the first group had an inferiority complex that stemmed from seeing their own society as “backwards” comparing with the Western society. The cultural terrorism stems from assimilation policies of the Western society on ethnic groups has a very effective role in the creation of this complex. As concepts of exclusion, assimilation and labialization force some groups to harmonize with the dominant culture, they also urged other groups to resist and become aware about protecting and sustaining their own cultural existence (Canatan, 1990: 41). The existence of the groups which aim to resist the dominant culture of the West cannot be denied; but the claim that this resistance prevents development and improvement determines the limits of cultural nationalism. The commonly accepted attitude during the first periods of diaspora was the transfer of language, religion, national history, manners and customs to the new generations. First generations which are alienated to the society they live in, could not analyze the current changes and lived with a constant paranoia in terms of sustaining their own national values and identities. First generations have refrained from communication and interaction due to distrust, and could not improve their creativity because of inferiority feelings they had.

Factors such as unemployment, discrimination and the individualistic social life in the Western societies push the second generations aside from the general public. The reason why the members of this generation prefer an unordered life can be named as the generation and culture clashes along with the inequality of opportunities (Canatan, 1990: 42). New generations, those experience a conflict and contradiction between two cultures and life styles, also live a culture shock due to

the increase in social pressures. According to a field study conducted in Germany, new generations have a lower level of sustaining the Turkish culture, whereas sustaining the German culture has a higher level comparing with the old generations (Şahin, 2010: 119). Because of the dynamic feature of culture, the cultural identities of the European Turkish minority had shown variability of improvement by time. Second and third generations from Turkey, even though it differs according to the countries they are in, are trying to protect their cultural identities without losing their ties with homeland. Especially the generations who are born and raised in Europe gain new cultural identities with the help of education and socialization. The Turkish society, in which the traditional paternalist family structure changed and a free and more participant relationship started to become dominant, especially the intra family and social roles of women have changed. Especially the second and third generations of Turkish origin immigrant women have reshaped their own ethnic, religious, political and cultural identities in a way to accommodate with the host country's social, economic, political and cultural structure.

All religions and their universal messages contain that the common good of mankind is based on “tolerance”, “dialogue” and “reconciliation”. Civilizations which have been shaped in accordance with great religions and their universal messages have survived centuries with the help of the contact they had along with the material and cultural acquisitions of other cultures. According to Bernard Lewis, European civilization has never been a civilization which is particular to Europe. Many cultures and civilizations, including the European culture have enriched themselves with the contribution and effect of previous cultures (Lewis, 2002). Therefore, civilizations with a tendency and interest into the differences got rid of introversion because of the cultural exchange and continued their existence. Mankind has collected all the values it produced throughout centuries in the common pool of humanity, and the civilizations were built upon these common values. Globalization process has a great function in integrating different societies and cultures.⁴⁹ Globalization can also be used as the material for conflict between

⁴⁹ Çaha, Ömer (2002), ‘Medeniyetlerin Buluşmasında Dinlerin Rolü’ (The Role of Religions on Alliance of Civilization), Zaman Newspaper Archive, for more information, please see; <http://arsiv.zaman.com.tr/2002/05/13/yorumlar/default.htm> (13.01.2014).

different cultures and religions. Along with globalization, Islam and Western civilizations have entered into a new phase in terms of conflict axis among the religious and cultural differences.

Globalization paved the way for ethnic, religious and cultural differences of Western and Islam civilizations to interact very close. In both civilizations, there are groups which consider the differences as richness and those that consider the differences as threat. In the future when the process of globalization will become more eminent, it is obvious that the radical elements will more often engage in actions and statements of hatred, rage and violence. But the long-term continuation and attractiveness of ethno-cultural and religious radical elements that polarize the societies is almost impossible. Because it is not possible for any society to develop healthy relations within an atmosphere where hatred, anger and violence predominate. No one will desire to live in a society where economic and political stability and welfare is missing. The important thing here is to save the religious and moral understandings from being a tool of conflict and struggle. The human centered religious understandings in the essence of Islam and Western civilizations should struggle the fanaticism which is strengthening by conflict and violence. Dialogue among the members of religions and cultures as a global peace project will turn the twenty first century as a period of wealth and coexistence.

3.4.2. Identity, Conflict and Cooperation in Europe

Identity, in its general meaning, can be defined as the interpretation of the individual and the group's existence and the positioning of one's self. With his identity, an individual makes his feature, personality and subjective reality cognoscible for himself and for others (Perşembe, 2005: 273). Identity is a social fact and it is the common name of visualizing and classifying all differences of the human beings. Anyone can have multiple identities at the same time; those identities can be sexual, religious, ethnic, geographical or national and they can exist on the same individual. These identities might be classified as upper and lower identities in terms of importance. Location mobilities and immigration can also cause a change of identity (Burçoğlu, 2004: 10-11).

According to Kılıçbay (2003: 155-156), identity defines a belonging and a similarity, which can be seen in its linguistic roots. Each identity is positioned according to the other and created as such. Therefore, the constructions of larger identities such as “nation” or “ummah” are done in terms of a differentiation from other “nations and ummah”. Identity is both a product of institutionalization of similar features and also a product of exclusion by “others”. Therefore, what defines an ethnic group or identity from the perspective of other groups is the social border put into the middle (Marley and Robbins, 1997: 74). According to Assman (2001: 135), identity is a concept which defines plurality and contains other identities as well (cited by Tatar, 2012: 93).

Globalization is one of the concepts which appeared in the last quarter of twentieth century and which are referred to describe the great scale changes. Common point of pro-globalization views is the prediction that this process will bring development, welfare and progress for all the societies and mankind. Globalization symbolizes the *“progress of humanity into the next stage”* with its positive implication on disseminating humanitarian values such as democracy, peace and freedom. Another prediction of the pro-globalization group is the possibility that globalization might provide a chance for minorities, religious groups and identities under pressure to become free improve themselves and open a dialogue with other groups. Common point of the groups with a negative attitude towards globalization is the idea that globalization is a political project which gives the developed and rich countries, multinational companies and grand capital groups a chance to consider the world as an unlimited and market and an area of exploitation. Common point of the critics is that globalization representing the unipolar world, American hegemony and the ideological dominance of liberalism. Another approach ignores the positive and negative sides developed by the previous approaches and defines globalization as a process containing opportunities and risks, with negative and positive features together (Şen, 2008: 136-141).

The historical existence of identities is parallel to the existence of societies and civilizations. Identities need “other” identities to protect their own dynamism, as it

defines itself according to “other” identity or identities. The relations or struggles of different ethnic/religious groups with one another determine the limits of national identities. A national identity defines itself according to the threat of “other” and tries to secure itself by having close ties with stronger identities. The most obvious example of this is the relocation of some ex-socialist Eastern European countries’ cultural identities to a democratic and liberal axis by becoming members of the European Union. European civilization is based on values produced by Christianity, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. But, the external role in the establishment of European civilization and identity was played by Islam and Muslims who were defined as the “others”. Historical clash between Christianity and Islam played a very important role in the appearance of European identity and creation of a unique worldview (Bozkurt, 2001: 13.14). During the Crusades, Western civilization learned the morals of trade from the Islam civilization; whereas the Andalusia experience on the Iberian Peninsula contributed a lot to the European civilization with its enormous accumulation of science, philosophy, culture and art (Alsayyad and Castells, 2004). Finally, centuries long struggles and relations between Islam and Western civilizations have played an important role as an external factor in the creation of a cultural identity in Europe.

Even though the inter-civilization wars and conflicts do not rest upon “religious” reasons alone, religion has always had an important place in determining the cultural relations in every period. The doctrine of Christianity, which began with the acceptance of Roman Empire as an official religion and increased its effect in the different periods of history, has played a very important role in the establishment of old Europe’s cultural identity. On the other hand, the perception of the Muslim world during the Middle Ages as a source of threat and “other” can be counted as another determinant factor in the creation of European identity and culture. “East” has been redefined by the West for the last two centuries and it had a function like a mirror for the West where Western world looked at and justified all its cultural values accordingly (Said, 1979). Especially since 1989, religion has played an ever increasing role of conflict in European politics and societies. According to Spohn (2009: 358-359), there are three reasons for this; the reunification of the Europe

after the collapse of communism, transformation of the European societies into multicultural and multi-religious structures with the help of international migration and the experience of the globalization process where religions have witnessed a very intense interaction.

The threats that lasted for centuries and the devastation twentieth century brought by wars have paced the creation of European identity with the compulsion of unity. Crusades which have been launched to get the Holy Land back from the hands of Muslims, have a very important role in the identification of Europe with Christianity from tenth to eighteenth centuries (Burçoğlu, 2004: 11-12). After the expeditions to the east have ended, Europeans had to gather around another ideal. This unifying function was conducted by secularization and the “nation-state” in the modern era of Europe as the Catholic Church was weakened (Saybaşı, 2000). According to Jansen (1999: 27-36), Europe did not have a serious division within itself and responded well to the challenge of communism, therefore created a very good model and unity (cited by Dinç, 2011: 42). According to Habermas (2004: 302), Europe’s feature being an area of peace and welfare is the clearest indicator that European identity is shaping. Finally, despite all the devastating wars and clashes of religion and sects; Europeanization can still have a unifying role if the member countries consider this with great care and exercise peaceful policies towards the “others” (Burçoğlu, 2004: 17).

When “Europe” and “European” identity is thought historically, it can be explained with a state tradition and elite culture, rather than a civil society tradition (Delanty, 1995). European identity is a tendency above the national identities and it rises above the “things” shared all around Europe. The historical heritage and social, cultural and political values shared all around Europe are the elements that create the European identity in spite of the diversity within Europe. The factors that shape the historical heritage in Europe are Christianity, Enlightenment, democracy and the supremacy of law. The political name of the league of these values is European Union and its cornerstones are (liberal) democracy, (capitalist) market economy and (Kant)’s philosophical opinion (Dinç, 2011: 35).

The understanding of “*unity-in-diversity*” defended by W. Kymlicka (1995) suits the “Europe” and “European” identity, which is constructed, changing and improving (Kaya and Şahin, 2007). The model “*unity-in-diversity*” predicts that the European identity might appear with the help of increasing civil, political and cultural exchanges and cooperation’s. The main question here is what kind of stance the “Europe” and “European” identity will have towards the cultural, ethnic and religious identities within itself. The common point of the critics of this model is that stability will be neglected in an environment of change and that cultural diversity might harm belongings (Dinç, 2011: 44-45). In other words, the harm given by cultural diversity to belongings might mean the disappearance of the values which consist different ethnic/religious minorities by time. There are two ways for cultures that belong to minority or majority communities in Europe to live together. First of them is the experience of a process in which cultural and identity exchanges are closed, which stems from the static structure of Europe. “Europeanism” or “Westernism” means single civilization, single culture and single identity; and it refers to a process where the elements of other civilizations are excluded. The best example for this traditional closed approach of the West is its failure to keep the religious together in the middle Ages. Second way is the experience of a process which is open to cultural and identity exchanges, which stems from the dynamic structure of the liberal Europe (Kaya and Şahin, 2007). If the second process could be experienced without any intercultural or inter-identity conflicts and turns into a synthesis, this will determine the future of Europe.

The idea of European citizenship is based on realizing the aims of creating a European consciousness and an identity. With the Maastricht Agreement (1993), the policy of European citizenship has been accepted as the most important step to create a European identity. With the Amsterdam Agreement (1997), the principle of equality among the European citizens was adopted. But in Europe, where millions of immigrants as ethnic and religious minorities live, the scope and

structure of the European citizenship has turned into a more complicated one. Latest polls show that only a small amount of the public consider themselves as “European”, and this disrupts the strategies of creating a common identity (Altınbaş, 2009: 98). The low support levels for European citizenship principle in the European public opinion, the low level of participation to the European Parliament elections and the successful results extreme-rightist parties acquire in the elections indicate the suspicions in the adaptation of European Union policies. Finally, it is an indispensable fact that the adherence for national identities is still strong and this effects the creation of a European identity and citizenship in negative ways.

Among the three dimensions of the concept of citizenship; rights, participation and belonging; the last one seems to be missing about the European citizenship. According to Ollikainen (2000), identity belonging, one of the concepts of belonging is far away to integrate with the European citizenship. It can be seen that the equation of coexistence of national citizenship and the European citizenship is full with several conflicts and conceptual misjudgments. The Maastricht Agreement’s rejection in Denmark with a referendum and slightly acceptance in France; and the withdrawal of Nice and Lisbon Agreements after the first public poll in Ireland show us that the European public opinion is not ready for the integration as a whole (Waeber, 1995: 389-431). European public opinion will only accept the integration whenever they are convinced that their national identities are not under threat (Altınbaş, 2009: 101-107). If the European citizenship is going to be the product of a long and consistent process, this product will only be able to grow up within the integrative and decisive atmosphere of European Union.

The projects of European identity and citizenship, which is tried to be pushed from top to below, be far away to give the desired results for the foreigners who are considered as “others”. But, still, there is the joy of receiving a permanent citizen identity instead of a temporary immigrant one. Muslims living in Europe do define themselves as European day by day. Double or hybrid identities are appearing and they become very widespread (Okumuş, 2007: 142). But on the

other hand, the exclusion of foreigners with different ethnic and religious identities within Europe and rejection of them as Europeans points out another dilemma. According to Gellner (1994: 42-43), to become a part of a Western modern society, that society's "high culture", which is transferred from one generation to another, should be acquired.

European Union and the continent of Europe, which is moving forward to become the greatest economic and political union in the world, are experiencing the most prosper and peaceful days of the last century. The human force brought from the developing countries since the beginning of the second half of 20th century have been employed in unqualified jobs in Western European countries. But the technological developments by time have minimized the need for unqualified workers and pushed the "*second/third generation of foreign work force*" which could not improve itself into an unduly competition. This unduly competition between the "*national workforce*" and "*foreign workforce*" has polarized the sides and has created a psychology of introversive identity. Sides have developed a kind of defense mechanism and became more connected to their traditions, religions and national identities.

According to Rattansi (1997: 50-51), the encounters between the "West" and the "others" have been determinant in defining the self in accordance with the other for both sides. According to Morley and Robins (1997: 43), the old fashioned exclusive principles have continued to operate in the "new Europe" and the European identity continued to be built depending on extra-Europeans or anti-Europeans. Europe is the one which is located against the "other". Western world, while creating its own identity, has put diversity in the roots of its existence. European identity has turned the diversities into otherness to prove and sustain its accuracy (cited by Tatar, 2012: 100). According to Jackson and Penrose (1994), the melting of the "others" who are subject to the same law norms within the nation-state systematique and survive in the secular state structure within the nation-state system by time, their loss of identity and gaining new identities is another example of assimilation (cited by Kaya, 2008: 157). According to this assimilative approach, the ethnic minority identity will become a part of the

dominant national identity and will have a full adaptation into the new identity. On the other hand, the “European Islam” project built upon the idea of melting down the “others”, in another word, Muslims within the dominant culture, is a result of perceiving the differences as a ground of conflict (Subaşı, 2005: 42-44).

Islam is one of the main variables in terms of the social relations between the Muslim immigrant societies who are trying to be permanent for the last fifty years, and the host societies. According to German sociologist Thomä-Venske (1981: 4-5), the feeling of belonging by immigrants in the multicultural European societies has a very remarkable importance to provide socialization and mutual harmony. One of the important questions at this point is whether the reactions towards the cultures of the host societies effective in the increase of Islamic belonging or not. Another question is about the distance taken by the sides on harmony and adaptation and its role in the shaping of the Islamic belonging feeling. Immigrants from third world countries have a tendency of returning to the sacred during the modernization process, by reinventing nationalism, religion and religious values. In the societies which have a non-Western experience, religion becomes more prominent in terms of an identity (Taştan, 2002: 121). In the following years of Turkish workers’ migration, the increasing embracement of religious symbols was seen as a way to culturally cope with social intolerance, exclusion and loneliness (Karakaşoğlu-Aydın, 1999: 65-66). The social exclusion immigrants are exposed to because of the difference of status directed them to an organization which is mosque-centered and provided a ground of intra-group coherence. Religion and the religious symbols have made it possible to satisfy the feelings of isolation and worldliness, thereby preventing the immigrants to be exposed to a culture shock (Abadan-Unat, 1976: 204-205).

In the fiftieth year of the immigration, the Turkish diaspora is in the middle of process which witness identity erosion between the national culture and the Western culture. The Turkish immigrants, who are left in the middle of two identities, are in search of a religious identity which will improve the feeling

of trust in them and keep them alive (Taştan, 1996: 17). Islam, as an indispensable part of the Turkish identity, is one of the most important tools which will guide the life of the Turkish immigrants in old Europe. Religious movements are one of the most organized solidarity networks of the European Turkish diaspora have diversity within them and carry out religious, cultural and social organization on a wide scale. On the one side of this large scale, there are religious organizations which are peaceful and in harmony with the current social structure; and the organizations that rely on radical Islamist interpretation on the other side (Atacan, 1993: 26). Radical Islamist movements, which could be tended for violence, are not accepted by the majority of the Turkish diaspora (Perşembe, 2005: 284). Sunni Turkish-Islamic tradition, or in other words, the Anatolian Islam does not constitute any threat to the democratic values or social and societal life.

According to Schiffauer (2009: 200), Islamic religious community and the German society in Germany are not in a relationship which complete each other, but rather in a controversy towards each other. Individuals who cannot clarify their social position in the equation of this controversy consider the religious communities as a safe haven and as an element of balance towards the secular society. Islamic culture and identity, which is perceived as a threat to the European life style and model in Europe has become a symbol today which is used by many Muslims with no hesitations at all. Muslim minorities in Europe engage with belongings such as culture, identity, religion, ethnicity and traditions to cope with the challenges and to avoid the fabricated radical abbreviations. Some strategic tools developed through religious and ethnic identity belongings are used to struggle racism and discrimination. Minority groups which act with the exclusion psychology give more importance to the concepts like intra-group solidarity, adherence and traditional belongings. A group of Muslims, who think that they protect themselves by remaining outside the shiny, live and immoral city life, consider themselves as disposed of the cultural corruption. On the other hand, the need by ethnic/religious

groups to protect their essence and the cultural identities does not mean that they do not wish to live together with the host society.

Right wing politicians in Europe keep ignoring the Muslims in their countries and claim that Western religious values are very important for the “European identity”. The number of people who believe that Islam threatens the cultural identities of Europe increases gradually. Elements like culture and identity are now seen as the determinant factors which create a distinction in the creation of the concept of “foreigner”. Foreigners constitute a fear for the society of which they are in, not because their cultures are not known, but also that they could change the known culture and alienate it too (Yılmaz, 2008: 27). On the other hand, the concern as Islam one of the most important threats to multiculturalism is increasing gradually in the West. The immigrants from Turkey, who are under the shadow of the fundamentalist movements and radical actions in the West, are experiencing the problem of lack of self-expression. The immigrants from Turkey think that the images of Islam and Muslim in the Western media and on the streets of Europe do not represent them. They want the different interpretations of Islam by Anatolian Islam, the Alevism and Sufism to be featured. The number of people who define themselves as German/Belgian/Dutch Muslim Turk increases every day. The immigrants from Turkey, who care about the citizenship of the country where they live and give importance to active political participation, believe that the cultural identity of Islam is not a threat to the Western values. They are in an effort to articulate with the West by their identities, voices, colors, aesthetical values, priorities, in sum by their life styles. Finally, it is a possibility to develop the culture of coexistence that depends on pluralism in Europe, where the Muslim and European identities are the closest to each other physically. To seize this historical opportunity, a sample coexistence model should immediately be developed where different identities and cultures complete and have respect to each other.

“European identity” is the result of a series of ideas to create a complete integrity within a Western imaginary world. There is no common cultural identity model

for the definition of Muslim communities in the West and their inclusion to the general whole. But, the diversity Muslims have created in Europe, as a single fact, makes it harder for them to be defined as a single group. Muslims are represented by different ethnic or sectarian groups in Europe today. Muslim population either comes from the history of Western imperialism or their existence in Europe is only limited by the workers' immigration. The religious belonging, cultural-ethnic references and the diversity of adaptation processes of the immigrant communities like the Turkish diaspora which have reached to third and fourth generations, produce interfered identity presentations (Subaşı, 2005: 46-62). In the following years of the migration, the immigrant groups needed a cultural identity to struggle with unequal opportunities, discrimination and social marginality (Abadan-Unat, 2002: 182-183). Intercultural interaction that appeared more in the second and third generations constitute the starting point of the identity problems. The Sunni-Muslim Turkish diaspora is one of the minorities that experience the ethnic/religious identity crises in the most obvious way. This is because the multiplicity that can be seen in terms of identities by the European Turkish society, in parallel with its ethnic, sectarian, socio-cultural and regional diversity.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE EXPERIENCE OF CO-EXISTENCE IN EUROPE

Being an immigrant is pictured as follows in the novel of Kiran Desai (2010), *“The Inheritance of Loss”*; *“Immigration is getting used not to be touched, and within this context, being alone among the crowd, to be humiliated and to get away from humanitarian relations”*. In the last years, the multiculturalism policies in many EU countries have been criticized by the liberal fractions. The focus of these criticisms is the minorities who live in Europe without interacting each other and the host societies. The piling up of different religious and cultural groups in separate ghettos without interacting each other has exploited the multiculturalism policies directed towards “living together”. According to Kadioğlu (2011), diversity prevented freedoms in Europe. Diversity collected under the umbrella of multiculturalists’ policies was so exaggerated, so the basic freedoms were left aside. Communities with no interaction in a multicultural environment and parallel lives where identity rights became very important have been established.⁵⁰

The Report prepared in 2011 by the Group of Eminent Persons of the Council of the Europe with the name *“Living Together: Combining Diversity and Freedom in 21st Century Europe”*⁵¹ refers to “living together” and puts “combining diversity and freedom” as a target. The report also mentions the increasing importance of coexistence of diversity and basic rights. It has been advised that the struggle with racism, discrimination and hatred in European countries should be legalized, and not threaten the freedom of expression. In spite of this, racism and discrimination raises and even getting normal in Europe today. The public support to extreme right and radical parties increases and its sphere is disseminating. To struggle with the possible societal polarizations and splits, the statement of “living together” which emphasizes the basic rights should be featured. The report mentions eight

⁵⁰ Neşe Düzel, who is writer in Taraf newspaper, made an interview with Prof. Dr. Ayşe Kadioğlu on May 2011. Kadioğlu is member of the Group of Eminent Persons of the Council of the Europe. For more information about the interview, please see; <http://www.taraf.com.tr/yazilar/nese-duzel/ayse-kadioglu-burkayi-yasaklamak-tehlikelidir/16155/> (05.10.2013)

⁵¹ For more information about the report its title ‘Living Together – Combining Diversity and Freedom in 21st - Century Europe’, please see: http://www.coe.int/t/policy-planning/GEP/translations/Report_GEP_Turkish.pdf (05.10.2013)

risks that threaten the universal values. These are; widespread intolerance, discrimination, xenophobia, rising interest towards populist parties, parallel societies, radical Islamism, loss of democratic freedoms, existence of a population with no rights and the possible conflict between “*freedom of expression*” and the “*religious freedom*”. Main reasons behind these risks are listed as the financial crises in old Europe, insecurity that stems from welfare loss, misperception of immigration, the patterns and prejudices created against the minorities in media and public opinion and the lack of leaders (The Report of the Council of Europe, 2011). This section of the study will deal with the risks that threaten the intercultural dialogue and coexistence in Europe in five separate titles. The suggestions for the solutions to minimize the risks that threaten the coexistence will be discussed in the end of chapter. While considering these risks and solutions, unofficial national and international reports will also be considered and analyzed.

4.1. ON THE PROBLEMS OF LIVING TOGETHER (CO-EXISTENCE)

The traditional threats in Europe have been replaced by newly defined threats such as “*Islam, foreigners, immigrants, ghettos, mosques and minarets, Gypsies and radicals*”. Foreigners are defined as “*Others inside us who threaten our national integrity*” and they are continued to be polarized by the statements of crime, violence and terror (Kaya and Şahin, 2007). But it is an inevitable necessity for nation states to rule the ethnic and religious minorities within them and the differences by tolerance and in accordance with the principles of justice and equality. When we look at the events in Ukraine today, the strategic importance of peaceful management of differences will be better understood. The risk of transforming the individual resistance to the other into a societal resistance is relevant for every multicultural nation state. Struggle with xenophobia, which has a risk to turn into a societal resistance, is under the liability of the political authorities. Determination of the social reflexes that could be shown to “others” by whom the same apartment or same street is shared, executing the preventive measures and the taming of the parties are among the main responsibilities of political authorities. Wise politicians, intellectuals and media have to take responsibility to stand against the conservative political parties and their speakers

who use the language of hatred towards the other within. According to Kaya and Şahin (2007), determinant elements can take responsibility of convincing the public opinion and create a peaceful and multicultural platform. Will Christian West and Islam be able to succeed living together and become a tolerant society in Europe, despite the mutual historical imaginations in the subconscious? We predict that the answer of this question will be “yes”, because the Muslims of Europe are more European than ever and they are very optimistic about harmony. But this answer of “yes” will only be relevant if some current and future conditions will be met. Some of these conditions are the development of mutual tolerance, leaving the ego centrist world view aside and placing the understanding that “we are all children of Adam and Eve”. Within the framework of these evaluations, the risks which threaten the social pluralism, multiculturalism and living together will be analyzed under separate titles. Also, the second part of this chapter contains constructive advices about the individual, institutional and social liabilities to minimize those risks that threaten living together.

4.1.1. Lack of Trust and Closed Communication

European countries have started to lose their competitive power and dynamism as a result of the global financial crises, and they also face problems such as an increase in elderly population and a decline in fertility rate. The inadequate number of population in business life increases the burden of social security and carries the risks which will cause political, economic and social instabilities. The Continent of Europe might be obliged to accept immigrants from developing countries again to continue its strategic importance and to close the employment gap in the first half of this century. Along with this prediction, the problems of current immigrants such as adaptation, social welfare, unemployment and radical fanaticism make this situation even more complex. It is possible, within the democratic lines, any possible immigration to Europe to be limited, prevented or guided to the required areas by national and international laws. But there is a definite uncertainty about the adaptation, employment and welfare of the immigrants living in European capitals and suburbs. Therefore, the political, judicial and legal authorities of the Europe have to face these problems and produce results before they turn into chronically cases. The reason why the immigrants return back to

their countries in the last ten years is the basic problems that cannot be solved in Europe. On the other hand, the perception of “*differences and diversities*” and “*the different*” through the window of fear make the situation even more inextricable. Friendships, neighborhood and affinity are the types of relations that were harmed by capitalism and globalization; and the minorities were also affected from this intolerant situation. The common point indicated by the political leaders who have developed a challenging attitude towards “multiculturalism” policies and statements is the self isolation of the immigrants from the society and living in ethnic and religious ghettos. The reflexes of the minorities to protect and sustain their traditions as they are being otherized by the host societies just because they are foreigners, is at the focus of critics today. But, the ghettoization of the minorities is not the sole point to criticize. The reasons why the minority communities decided to isolate themselves should be analyzed as well.

The philosophy and message of all ancient traditions, religions and cultures is the love and affection to the mankind. In the sacred texts and the prophets’ statements of holy religions and beliefs, no distinctions have been made among the people in terms of religion, language, race, sect or classes. The way to establish peace and friendship in this century, as in every century, passes through love and affection. That is the reason why peace, democracy, human rights and freedoms and supremacy of law as indicated in European Agreement on Human Rights are accepted as universal values. The intolerance, discrimination and the exclusion of “other” that appeared in Europe, cradle of these universal values, in the last decade threatens the social peace. Suspending the universal principals that add spirit and dynamism to the European Union’s construction is against firstly to the “EU criteria” and “European values”. The stereotype and prejudices towards the foreigners in Europe carry out risks which would cause deep polarizations and social explosion.

Many national and international polling agencies have reached the conclusion that an increase of negative ideas and attitudes in Europe against Muslims, Jews and Gypsies is persistent. It can be said that the perception of Islam as a local, extreme, conflictual and undemocratic religion caused shaping of the negative attitude towards Muslims in European societies. The terror events which happened in

different parts of the world have also played an important role in the strengthening of this perception. Unfortunately, a widely participate and common message of peace indicating that these terrorist attacks were conducted by radical elements and condemning those attacks with the justification of Islam as a religion of peace could not be prepared. A peace declaration in which all the leaders of Islamic countries and the clergy condemn terrorist attacks might amend the misperceptions in the Western world. Condemnations and peace messages were very limited except for a few Islamic thinkers; and the negative images and perceptions about Islam in the European public opinion were not fixed yet. Another reason why individual and common peace messages about this subject could not take place in Europe is the biased and unfair publication policy of the Western media. One of the most important reasons of the rise of anti-Semitism is the fact of Jewish ownership of the finance sector in the world. So, majority thinks that Jews are responsible for the global financial crises. According to the results of a worldwide study conducted by Anti-Defamation League (ADL), one of the most effective Jewish organizations in the world, Anti-Semitism is 69% in Turkey and Greece, 56% in Iran and 26% worldwide.⁵²

The principle of “*accepting everyone in their own position*” is one of the basic universal and humanitarian values, but it is not digested and accepted as needed to be in today’s world. Basic human values such as the fact that a piece of bread could remain in esophagus and cause choking are not internalized and accepted by the societies. The statement of “*tolerance for everybody*” is accepted as a principle, but in practice it is applied very rare or expected from the other side. “*Living together*” is accepted as an open society model, but the differences and different things are not tolerated. These contradictions appear more on the grounds where economic, political and socio-cultural problems are very intense. On such grounds where ambiguities are intense, the different parts of the society are perceived as potential threats in terms of security and social welfare. According to German sociologist Ulrich Beck, the ambiguities of Western modernization in social psychology have

⁵² The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) released the results of a worldwide poll on Anti-Semitism on May 13th, 2014. For more information please see; <http://global100.adl.org/> (20.05.2014).

left the individuals and societies defenseless against the risks and dangers. With modernization, people have declared their independence, but in the same time they were deprived of social solidarity networks such as family and friendship which protected them. With the loss of social solidarity networks, people became more isolated (Beck, 1992). The ambiguities in internal politics, and risks such as the problem of immigrants and social inequality in the West are felt almost all parts of the life. The expectations of the European societies, which struggle with these structural problems, for a safe world purged from risks and dangers are increasing every day. Therefore, a common mind, solidarity and multi dimensional preventions are needed in the West to overcome those dangers and risks. In other words, the establishment of strong humane relations to bring the differences together depends on the reconstruction of love, respect and a moral understanding open to dialogue again.

We can clearly say that today the lack of trust between the foreigners and the host societies in Europe has harmed the pluralist texture of the society. The need for a common mind of accepting *“everyone within their own status by ignoring their religion, language, color, world view or social status”* which will wipe out the mutual lack of trust is increasing every day. Transparency and open communication channels are very important to build mutual trust in the long term. Otherwise, the biases that need a long-term approach could not be overcome with short term and symbolic references (Yükleyen, 2007: 278). It should always be kept in mind that foreigners, especially the Muslims with different life styles and customs will contribute a lot to the welfare and cultural prosperity of the countries.

4.1.2. The Rise of Radicalism and Racism in Europe

The number of circles that perceive foreigners and Muslims with different physical characteristics as a threat to their own life styles, social security and job opportunities are increasing very fast in Europe. Especially the conservative and nationalist groups that perceive foreigners with different living and clothing styles as a threat are showing active defensive reflexes. On the top of active defense tools by these groups is supporting the conservative and racist right parties in local and national elections.

The reflex of defending “*national and local*”, has increased the prestige and chairs of the right radical political sides. It seems that the most important problem the European political tradition will have to cope with in the near future is going to be the increasing power of radical and racist parties. These radical statements are nourished with a defensive reflex that can be summarized as “*exclusion of non-local and non-nationals*” against the “*national and local*”. And this caused a divide within the European societies. On contrary to extreme right and racist political parties that consider foreigners as responsible for the economic crisis; social democrats and liberals are acting cautious and trying to remain neutral. As radical and racist statements increase the tension, social democrat and liberal parties had to review their political attitudes. Yet, in European democracies which are defined upon human rights, freedoms and pluralism; social democrats and liberals that claim ethnic and religious minorities have a place within, should protect their own policies. All the political movements against radical and racist policies and statements should stop competing with each other and insist on basic rights and freedoms.

Basic universal principles such as equality, freedom, justice and tolerance can only survive and be sustained in a society where “other” is tolerated. These basic universal values which have existed in many European countries have been the assurance for minorities to protect and sustain their own culture and identity. Unfortunately, nowadays the statements of closed society that reject cultural, ethnic and religious diversities are being supported by more people. The public support for extreme right policies which are built upon national and ethnic identity/culture and support socio-economic, political and social security policies based on those, is increasing every day. We witness that extreme right parties have started to become more visible in Western Europe since 2000, even building coalitions with centrist right and left parties. The coalitions built by social democrat and leftist parties, which have supported the pluralist society models in the past, indicates the point of the political atmosphere. For instance, the Party for Freedoms (PVV) in the Netherlands, an anti-foreigner and anti-Islam political party, was a partner of the coalition, and gained 15.5% of the votes in 2010

elections. Finally, the same political party had 13.2% of the votes in 2014 European Parliament elections, and this is not surprising for anyone. After the murders of Pim Fortuyn (2002) and Theo van Gogh (2004) in the Netherlands, public support for anti-foreigners and anti-Islam political parties has increased gradually. The murder of Theo van Gogh by a Moroccan immigrant who was under the effect of radical Islamic movements was perceived as an indicator by the Dutch public opinion that Muslims could not adapt to the society yet. The reactions towards Bouyeri and the radical elements on which he was grown up have turned into the reactions towards the government, criticizing that the government showed too much tolerance and understanding towards the immigrants. After these two events, the number of people who have taken the warnings and criticisms of Dutch politicians and media on the adaptation of Muslims have increased (Hajer and Uitermark, 2008). The negative perception of foreigners in the Netherlands was channeled to the Muslim immigrants after these two events.

Table 2. Results of the Far-Right Parties in the 2014 European Parliament Elections

Countries	The Far-Right Parties	European Parliament (22-25 May, 2014)
United Kingdom	United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)	%26,77
Denmark	Danish People's Party (DF)	%26,6
France	National Front (FN)	%24,95
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)	%19,72
Hungary	Jobbik Party	%14,6
The Netherlands	Party of Freedom (PVV)	%13,32
Finland	True Finns (PS)	%12,9
Sweden	Sweden Democrats (SD)	%9,7
Greece	Golden Dawn (XA)	%9,38
Germany	Alternative for Germany (AfD)	%7
Belgium	Vlaams Belang Party	%4,14

Source: TNS/Scytl in cooperation with the European Parliament, 2014

The Eighth European Parliament elections that were held in 28 members of the European Union on May 22-25, 2014 witnessed the rise of anti-EU and anti-foreigner extreme right parties. The votes indicated on Table 2 which shows the rise of extreme right and racist, anti-European Union political parties in the European Parliament elections also goes in parallel with the rise of discrimination and exclusion in Europe. The reason of a low level of participation which is even below 50% in the elections of European Parliament is the lack of European Union in meeting the expectations and the disappointment of people who were deprived from social rights. The financial crisis of 2008 is the turning point for the rise of extreme right in Europe, but these results cannot only be defined by financial crises. Xenophobia, anti-Islam, anti-EU and nationalist statements are used by extreme right political parties as a propaganda tool. J.M. Le Pen, the leader of the National Front (FN) in France has defined Muslims and foreigners as invaders who have taken the jobs of the real French people. Le Pen suggested that all Muslim foreigners should be expelled from the country as a solution for unemployment (Michalak and Saeed, 2004). In European democracies where human rights and freedoms are guaranteed, the existence of a mental structure which rests on hatred and hostility harms the culture of living together.

On the other hand, the effort of many extreme right parties to tell about the fear of Islam and foreigners to the public by using racist and nationalist figures harms the social communication. Ban on veil and headscarf, of which France leads, is polarizing the social layers and forces a group of Muslims to live in ghettos within the same city. The National Front (FN) in France has used the slogan of “*No to Islamism*” for 2010 local elections. In the brochure that was printed with this slogan, a woman in veil and a map of France painted with the Algerian flag and filled with minarets were used as a way to increase the votes through the image of Islam. In the elections for Berlin State Parliament in Germany, extreme right the National Democratic Party of German (NPD) has prepared banners and posters that contain xenophobia and hostility to Islam. One of the election brochures had a drawing of a woman in veil, a man with turban and a black person sitting on a flying carpet with writing “*Have a Good Flight Home (Guten Heimflug)*”. In another banner a mosque was drawn into a red circle and

crossed out with a red line. Under this brochure, they wrote “*Vote for Thilo’s Theses*”, referring to the Social Democrat Party of Germany (SPD) members Thilo Sarrazin’s⁵³ criticism of the Muslim immigrants.⁵⁴

The terrorist attacks that happened on September 11 in New York and continued in some capitals in Europe and then in Moscow have devastated the societies in Western world and created a fearful environment. The terrorist organization Al-Qaeda bombed Neva Shalom and Beth Israel synagogues in Istanbul on November 15, 2003 and by targeting the religious places, proved that terror has no religion at all. The reason of global terrorism choosing Turkey as a local action area is the perception of Turkey as a country which could wipe out the clash of civilizations between Islam and the West (Göle, 2010: 79). The management of the terrorist activities which threaten the peace and security of Muslim, Jewish and Christian communities under the “Islamic terror” cannot be defined with good will. The interpretation of terror as a part of Islam creates a psychological pressure on the Muslims. It is obvious that majority of Muslims reject and criticize the radical and militant Islam in different parts of the world. It is also obvious that the radical and militant groups which criticize West and the Western values and call for “*jiħad*” against the West are causing fears and concerns in the Western society. But Muslims are not a side and source of these fears and concerns. As terror has no religion, each type of terror is not religious. It has to be understood that the groups which have a security risk both in and out of

⁵³ Economist Thilo Sarrazin, a member of German Central Bank executive board has developed a racist statement by saying that “Muslims have collapsed and downgraded Germany”. Sarrazin also claimed that the foreigners who came by migration are not smart enough because of their different races. On the other hand Sarrazin defined the high rate in immigrant fertility as a risk for the future of the country. After these racist and nationalist statements, the polls in Germany showed that 18% of the Germans wanted to see Sarrazin as the future prime minister of the country. Sarrazin’s book “*Germany Destroys Itself*” has become one of the most popular books in Germany since World War II.

EurActiv – EU News and Politics Portal (2011), “Norveç’teki Saldırıların Ardından Sarrazin’in ‘*Almanya Kendini Yok Ediyor*’ Kitabı Tartışılıyor”, <http://www.euractiv.com.tr/abnin-gelecegi/article/norvecteki-saldirilarin-ardindan-sarrazinin-almanya-kendiniyok-ediyor-kitabi-tartisiliyor-020144> (19.03.2014).

⁵⁴ ‘Almanya’da aşırı sağcı partiden yabancı düşmanı seçim kampanyası’, Hürriyet Newspaper, for more information, please see; <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/18441977.asp> (13.02.2014).

Europe are not the Muslims, but the terrorists (Ross, 2004: 3). On the other hand, it should always be kept in mind that terrorism as one of the most dangerous problems today is also a threat for Islam and the real Muslims. It is known that the radical Islamic organizations that kill innocent people and Muslims in various parts of the world including Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan; harm the image of Islam at enormous levels. Therefore, radical Islamic terror has an important role on the basis of biases that threaten the coexistence and social relations in Europe where millions of Muslims are living. Terrorist groups that claim to defend Islam and rights of Muslims are the main sources of fear and concerns towards Islam in the West. Civil society organizations, churches, Islamic organizations, people and politicians considered as a role model by the young generations must immediately support the efforts to wipe out those fears and concerns in Europe.

The Continent of Europe has left the turbulent era in the first half of last century behind and showed remarkable improvements in areas such as participatory democracy, human rights, social security and free market economy. As the most peaceful and prosper period of the European history is witnessed, the increasing treat of potential racism has reached to the levels to disrupt the peace and prosper of the continent. Especially the boom in racist violent attacks after September 11 has stranded the European Union and its members who advocate the basic rights and freedoms (Yılmaz, 2008: 43). Even though the scientific studies and official reports explain the reasons behind the racism under a couple of titles, problem is deeper and more complicated. The increasing numbers of foreigners in Europe, the adaptation problems, reducing job opportunities and the psychological subconscious reflexes developed through national/religious identity have started to change the perception of foreigners. The existence and adaptation problems of ethnic and religious groups that became more visible along with the economic crises witnessed are criticized by extreme rights and conservative groups in the hardest way possible. Certain groups accept the criticisms of anti-Islam and anti-immigrant parties at higher levels. One of the most important factors that affected the behavior of voters is the negative propaganda conducted through xenophobia (Nonneman, 2007). The unknown cultures, religions, languages and habits of the foreigners who come from distant parts of the world and start to share the the welfare of the European countries,

pass through the tolerance test of the Western people (Ireland, 2004). It should be known that organized political movements which are against Islam and immigrants display an intolerant European picture to the world. It should also be known that immigrants always contribute a lot to the prosperity and cultural well being of the country they live in.

By mentioning some of the evaluations about the psychological progress of extreme right, conservative and racist tendencies that develop policies through national identity, religion and social class; we can understand the new face of racism in a better way. The borders of the countries determined in accordance with the historical development in the nation-states have been considered as identical with the borders of individuals and groups at psychological levels. This subconscious reflex has interestingly contributed to the development of a stronger individual and national identity (Volkan, 1988: 128-129). European integration which defends political and economic unity threatens the emotional reflex and the meaning attributed to national borders in the sub consciousness of individuals and groups psychologically. These anti-feelings which are revealed by emotional reflexes strengthen the national group identity in masses and nourish nationalism, even racism. Old Europe has created the individual and group identities based on democracy and human rights through long-lasting struggles and wars. The risk of losing the free individual and group identity acquired by the foreigners who did not complete the required transformation yet, creates a psychological concern. Another reason of the nationalist tendencies in Europe is to force the target groups give up their own identities and absorb the European one, as in the period of colonialism. Finally, the ideal of creating religious, cultural, social and political homogeneous societies in old Europe grounds nationalism and racism today.

It is obvious that racism is one of the biggest risks which threaten living together and pluralist society in Europe. Racism, as one of the ideological tools of nation-states which appeared after the French Revolution, is a recent global problem witnessed in several regions of the world. Robert Maier (2002: 91) aligns the elements which directly affect racism and which are dependent to each other, under three separate headings. First of them is the rapid transformation of the

social structure which deeply affected the social dependence in societies. Second one is the division within societies such as rich-poor and employed-unemployed. And the third one is the failure of the nation-state to provide justice (cited by Yılmaz, 2008: 31). Masses affected from the ambiguities stem from unemployment and economic stagnation, increasingly support the racist and xenophobic statements of populist politicians. The efficacy and competency of national governments and European Union in terms of struggling the racism and xenophobia are not enough to meet the requirements. Also, we cannot say that the adaptation policies and approaches appropriate with the pluralist structure of the societies are in a level to make cultural interaction possible yet.

The regular and perfectionist understanding of the European culture have a hard, intolerant and nationalist attitude towards the irregular and unsteady foreign characters. European people have achieved to integrate urbanization and urban culture with the public sphere and they highly criticize the non-Western Asian/African life styles sustained in the public sphere in a very harsh way. A certain part of the foreigners who could not internalize the determined rules of the public sphere, withdraw themselves into their own borders and refrain communication. Those foreigners who consider the public and social spheres as threat to their own life style, national culture and religious values can easily move away from those and become fanatics of radical religious and ideological structures. These networks of relations which are far away from communication with outside have no efforts or aims about living together at all. Discrimination, racism and xenophobia which nourish these unhealthy networks of relations are other obstacles for normalization. Radical elements at the opposite sides are actually sides which complete each other.

4.1.3. Unilateralism of Basic Rights and Freedoms

The liberalization of the multicultural and pluralist societies in Europe and helping them acquire a more participatory ground will only be possible by eliminating the distinctions on religion, language, culture and ethnicity. Discrimination which caused the alienation and isolation of ethno-cultural and

religious minorities in Europe is completely against the democratic and liberal basic rights and freedoms. In spite of these basic universal values, discriminations are made in various fields such as education, health and social services in Europe. Foreigners can usually have jobs as cashiers, security guard or cleaners which are basically low level income groups and as workers in the service sector. An unjust evaluation is made in job applications by considering the independent variables such as ethnic identity and religious affiliation. Relating the high unemployment rate among foreigners with the inequalities and discriminations in reaching the job opportunities will be a deficient evaluation. Most of the foreigners coming from Africa, Northern Iraq and Africa are unsuccessful in the jobs that require work experience and specialization. Those foreigners who cannot seize the opportunity in the jobs that require specializations usually establish their own businesses. For instance, the immigrants of Turkish origin have opened pizza, doner kebab restaurants in many countries of Europe, and brought a new cuisine culture into the European cuisine. As for the new generations, the employment is mostly in jobs that require information, technology and expertise.

On the other hand, another reason why foreigners live in ghettos is the inadequacy of physical space which obliges them to live in houses with bad condition. Because the foreigners are exposed to illegal discriminative and racist treatments in cluster and private housing sectors and could not own houses in new settlements. In Northern Scandinavian countries prefer ground houses to avoid this discriminative treatment. It is also seen that the house owners are being oppressed about the rental of their houses not to rent their houses to foreigners. This discriminative attitude caused many negative results, but a positive result has been the acquisition of more houses by foreigners.

Today, many EU countries still do not recognize Islam as a religion. Some countries recognize Islam, but it is forbidden for some religious liabilities such as the veil to be used in public space. Again, the ban on the full-faced veil and the burqa because of “*safety precaution*” in some countries and the fines applied is another antidemocratic implementation. “*Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*” has assured that all children have the right to be educated

according to their own religious beliefs. Same statement also indicates that cultural, religious and linguistic diversities will be respected. On contrary to these basic principles, the accumulation of immigrant children in certain schools disproportionately is against the equal opportunities. Low quality education and high level of violence in schools where immigrant children are the majority is a result of his unjust policy. Some countries' employment of religious teachers to provide the Muslim kids with the basic Islamic knowledge should be taken as an example by other countries. On the other hand, a certain part of foreign students are directed to low level vocational schools with the request of their teachers, and their families are not aware of that. Finally, unilateral, unjust and racist attitudes in the education of children, the next generations of Europe, should be avoided.

Salman Rushdie's fourth novel the "*Satanic Verses*" was published in 1988, in 2004 Theo van Gogh's movie named the "*Submission*" which had the Muslim women as a subject, publication of cartoons in 2005 which insulted the Prophet of Islam in 2005 in a newspaper of Denmark and the movie in America (2012) with the name the "*Innocence of Muslims*" which insulted the Prophet of Islam and the Muslims have all caused the discussion of the limits of freedom of thought. In all of these provocations and agitations listed above chronologically, disrespectful defamations about Islam and its prophet were done and religious sacred were insulted. Muslim world showed an excessive and unlimited reaction to these insults and tens of innocent people have died during the protests. Producer of the movie the "*Submission*", Theo van Gogh was murdered by a Moroccan Muslim in Amsterdam. Most distressing side of the events that began in many Muslim countries, including Egypt and Libya, after the movie the "*Innocence of Muslims*", is the murder of American ambassador in Libya. The aggressive and provocative initiatives are evaluated within the scope of basic rights assured by the Article 10 of European Agreement on Human Rights which is about "freedom of thought, conscience and religion". It can be seen that "respect to the sacred" principle has a different meaning and evaluation both for Islam and the Western world. But, reconciliation is needed to clarify the contradiction between "*freedom of thought*" and "*freedom of defamation*" and to draw the lines of freedom. The reconciliation is needed because of the aggressive initiatives behind the name of freedom of

expression which aim to polarize and hostile nations each other. The reconciliation is needed, because there are provocative actions which agitate the streets in the name of respect to the sacred and which cause the deaths of people.

There is an urban legend in some European countries that the social rights such as unemployment aid, early retirement and rental aid are being abused by the foreigners. But the official researches indicate that the social aids provided by the state are abused by all sections of the society. Also, numerous bureaucratic obstacles are faced with the foreigners in terms of determining the validity of social aid demands. This is another reflection of unequal opportunities. It is a serious human rights and inequality problem that the foreigners who appeal to the judges could not find any justice about this issue. Justice is for everyone and no discrimination should be made. Individuals who do not trust justice and law isolate themselves from the society and become alienated. The unjust and discriminative policies conducted by social security and justice systems towards the foreigners harm the tractability of the state and push the masses to radical tendencies. On the other hand, the rights such as double citizenship and social security rights provided to the foreigners in some countries have disturbed some groups. In some European countries, groups who have lost some social opportunities like unemployment insurance after some new regulations have considered the foreigners responsible and started to see them as a “burden” on the social system (Yılmaz, 2008: 78). Positive discrimination towards some minorities have been criticized by extreme right parties and defined as discrimination towards the Europeans themselves (Vural, 2005: 196-199).

The search for justice by foreigners who have been subjected to racist physical attacks and verbal insults in Europe are remaining inconclusive. On the contrary, cases where foreigners are blamed end very fast with rapid and effective interrogations and the appeals are carried to the courts immediately. Bad and arbitrary treatments of the security forces, long lasting and unhealthy custodies, unjust arrests and humiliating behaviors push the individuals outside the system and into the web of radical organizations. Many European Union members have immediately passed the laws which limit the protection of human rights after the

attacks of September 11 and to the European capitals. After September 11 attacks Muslims have been considered as “security problem” in America and Europe and faced with serious pressures that limit civil rights. 21st century Europe which refers to basic rights and freedoms has started to implement policies that limited the civil rights and laws that possess the security forces with unlimited authorities. This caused a problem for the EU in the eyes of world public opinion. On the other hand, as social services take the Muslim kids who are victims of violence from their families, this causes many family tragedies and affects the psychology of the kids very deep. Giving a Muslim child to a non-Muslim family is not an implementation to be explained by social security principle. Finally, the distinctive implementation of basic rights and freedoms for natives and for foreigners is against the democratic legal norms.

The just demands of minorities are evaluated as “*search for justice and equality*” by the Western countries (Kymlicka, 1995). These just demands do not constitute any threat to the social security and democratic identity of the West. According to Kymlicka, who thinks that search of justice will naturally be preferred over the security concerns; “*search for justice and equality*” is parallel to the diversity statements of Europe. Demands of collective rights are very important for minority groups, as they can reach the individual freedoms through those. Kymlicka (1995) defines the protection of minority rights by nation states as “*unity-in-diversity*”. Brian Barry (2001) warns Kymlicka about this and emphasizes the negative results of providing privileged and special “group rights” to minorities. Barry (2001) proposes a model which emphasizes individual rights rather than “privileged group rights”, and he calls it “*unity-over-diversity*” (cited by Kaya and Şahin, 2007). Democratic search of rights by minorities, whether individual or collective, will contribute to the protection of cultural diversity and the interaction among cultures.

4.1.4. Security Walls of Open Societies

Narrow urban areas where ethnic, religious and cultural visions became mono typed, are one of the most obvious proofs that the “multiculturalism” policies in Europe

have become dysfunctional. Narrow urban ghettos where intra-group relations network is very intense are the side areas where the need for housing is easily fulfilled, where relations between families and friends are experienced more intensely and where the traditional consumption needs are easily met. The problem of finding an appropriate housing in city centers, problem of school registration and other socio economic problems force ethnic and religious groups to live in ghettos which are also called as “*parallel regions*”. As the national borders of the EU countries are lifted by the Schengen, new walls are built around the ghettos by exclusion and otherization. The minority groups who live in these narrow areas where housing and education qualities are low, are considered as the biggest obstacle in front of living together in Europe. The reasons that force the homogenization of certain ethnic/religious groups in certain regions are exclusion/divergence from the host society, radicalization and socio-economic isolation. The report published by the Group of Eminent Persons of the Council of the Europe (2011: 22) warned that socio-economic unjust treatments might push the people living in ghettos to discontent and loneliness. The report also emphasized those individuals who could not have a more qualitative comfort of life, education and services can become aggressive and that may cause a radicalization in the individuals.

In a report prepared by the Statistic Netherlands (CBS, 2008: 9), it was emphasized that the chances of encounter between the foreigners who are intensifying on housing, business and education and the Dutch are decreasing. According to Canatan (2011: 18-21), we can talk about the concept of ghettoization is the spatial intensification of ethnic groups limit their social relations and decrease/diminish the chances for them to encounter the members of the host society. Either with the own will of the minority groups or with a deliberative otherization by the majority, ethnic and socioeconomic intensification in specific regions clearly define ghettoization. Lack of mutual communication and information has a big role in the accumulation of ethnic and religious minorities in the specific regions of open societies. Distinctive statements and actions used by extreme right and conservative policies to separate the societies build high walls between the foreigners and the host societies. Efforts of just and moral politicians are unfortunately not enough to pass through these high walls.

Robert Maier (2002) handles the starting points of negative perceptions which cause immigrants to isolate themselves from the society as problematic groups. First of all is the exploitation of the problems that stem from migration and immigrants by the nationalist and xenophobic political parties. Second one is the strict policies of traditional democratic parties on migration and immigrants and the recognition of the problems caused by foreigners directly by the governments. And the third one is the exclusion of “other” by the direct results of European integration in economic, political and socio-cultural areas. According to Yılmaz (2008: 107-108), R. Maier claims that Europe is either directly or indirectly isolating the “other” from the society by using either one of these three points, in short that Europe is promoting racism. On the other hand the biased and polarizing publications by local, national and international media increase the range of polarizations. Some manners not approved by Islam and the majority of Muslims – violence to women, honor killing, terror etc.- are used as exaggerated in the Western media, increasing the biases and hatred. That news must be announced along with correct information and expert views to the public. Creating a perception by attributing some unpleasant manners and traditions to Muslims and Islam means the misguidance of the public opinion.

As the communist threat was ended with the downfall of the Berlin Wall (German: Berliner Mauer), the remembrance of Europe’s geographical, cultural and religious borders to differentiate and protect Europe from Islam, brings the question whether a new “wall” is built in Europe or not. Europe constructs itself not only by remembering its past, but also by forgetting it. The downfall of the Berlin Wall made it possible to remember the common history and identities; but ignoring the “others” and leaving them behind the walls indicates the role of a selective memory (Göle, 2010: 40-41). “Others” are in the focus of fear within the society they are living because either their cultures are unknown or the possibility of their culture to change and alienate the majority culture (Master and Le Roy, 2000: 425). “Others” do not prefer to live in ghettos because they consider themselves superior or more skilled than the majority of the society. Those people who have worked under the hardest conditions and contributed to the economic development and progress of the countries where they live prefer ghettos as a result of discrimination based on ethnic origins.

“Others” have been left alone, isolated and considered as a separate part of the society both in demographic and cultural ways. The irony of famous Swiss author Max Frisch in 1966, “*We called for workers, but it was human beings who came*”, displays the neglecting of humanitarian and social dimension of the migration. The mechanical worker-human-commodity understanding of the official authorities has deprived the immigrants from the basic legal assurances, aside with any efforts to strengthen their social position and provide social participation (Canatan, 1990: 56-75). The revolts began in the back streets and suburbs of Paris in October 2005 had no religious or ethnic motivations, but those were reactions of the people who were living behind the walls and whose existence was almost forgotten. Immigrant children were forgotten at schools, cultural identities were ignored on the streets, an upper identity was forced for adaptation, compromises in public sphere were requested and the others were considered as “second class”. There is a need of more responsible, just and common understanding that rests on humanitarian relations; instead of forgetting, compulsory and patronizing. This common understanding will accept “*everyone in his or her own position*” and its implementation will decrease the social divisions and polarizations on individual, societal and political grounds.

4.1.5. Return to Traditional Fears in Europe

In response to extremist and radical tendencies in Islamic world which try to construct a base by using anti-Western; another coalition of anti-Islam and struggle with radicalism is trying to be built in the West. The “*communist threat*” has left its place to the “*threat of Islam*” in the Western bloc after the end of the Cold War. As Islam has been shown as the enemy of Western culture and values, “*Islamic fundamentalism*” has been put on the target as a threat to the West (Çarhoğlu, 2007: 207-213.) A group of politicians, administrators and media organs see Islam as a threat and guide the public opinion accordingly, thereby provide the Islamic fundamentalism to gain more supporters. On the other hand, some centers which have defined their sides in accordance with the “Clash of Civilizations” thesis which rests upon a critical view towards Islamic civilization and conflict, written by Harvard University Professor Samuel Huntington in 1993 and published in *the Foreign Affairs*, have declared war on Muslims and their diversities

within Europe. After the end of the Cold War, nations in old Europe with an aim of becoming a welfare and social state have defined themselves through some fears and concerns. These definitions with a tendency of ideological and structural introversion in the Western European countries have become more visible after the September 11 attacks, followed by attacks in European capitals. Already existing fears and concerns have become more intensive in European countries where Muslim minorities live, after September 11. Western world has created a line of defense and a new “*psychological reflex*” appeared which suspended the multiculturalists policies, became introversive and alienating. European public began to be more concerned with the fluctuations and fragility of the global markets, and started to develop a racist and xenophobia against the immigrant workers whom they thought are taking the job opportunities they have (Yılmaz, 2008: 75).

Since 1990s when the European integration accelerated; identity problems, stance against expansion, social exclusion and the concerns created about the sharing of the welfare have been the factors that strengthened the extreme right parties and groups. According to the analysis of Strategic Thinking Institute’s analysis of 2011; extreme right groups have claimed that the integration projects weakened the nation-state structure and they increased their votes and public support accordingly (İnanç and Çetin, 2011). The racist, discriminative and exclusive statements and implications conducted through xenophobia in Europe threaten the basic rights and freedoms, before anything else. The reports of human rights organizations emphasize that the immigrants and asylums in European countries have been violated and maltreated with the excuse of a threat of terror. After the Madrid (2004) and London (2005) terror attacks, very strict safety precautions against Muslims have been taken and they have been interrogated undeservedly, just like the September 11 (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Extreme right parties which are against Islam and foreigners have used these terrorist attacks in their election campaigns and blamed the immigrants for threatening the safety and economic welfare of the EU citizens. Extreme nationalist parties are the architects of anti-immigrant policies and they have blamed the immigrants to cause an increase in the crime rates within the EU societies. These extreme right and racist

political parties aim to expand their social bases and are committing a “*hate crime*” in their societies by creating hatred and otherization with a focus on fear.

The accumulation of an approximate of 20% of the votes by extreme right and racist parties in the general elections of last five years has made the European political life to be reshaped. These new racist tendencies, aiming to create religious, cultural, social and political homogeneous societies are of great concern for the ethnic and religious minorities (Laquer, 2003: 176). According to a research conducted, the number of neo-Nazi which was about 2.200 in 2000s, have reached to 5.600 in ten years. This number gives us a hint about the expansion of social and political bases of racist ideas. The Holocaust which happened in the near history of Germany causes the official authorities and public opinion in Europe to be more careful and precautious towards extreme right and nationalist groups. But the arson of the houses of foreigners and murdering by the neo-Nazis makes it a necessity to be more careful and attentive. The Party for Freedom (PVV) of Geert Wilders, who is one of the leaders of anti-Islam movement in Europe, has helped the establishment of the minority government in the Netherlands with the external support. Extreme right political parties such as the Progress Party in Norway, the Danish People’s Party (DF) in Denmark and the Sweden Democrats (SD) in Sweden have increased their votes and became members of the Parliaments, which are clear indicators that a very threatening atmosphere is being experienced (İnanç and Çetin, 2011; Vural, 2005). On the other hand, the resistance and social reactions against the construction of mosques in Europe is an expression of deep traditional fears. The carton crisis in Denmark (2005), ban on minarets in Switzerland (2009) and the burial of a pig under a mosque in 2011 along with the arson of mosques in many countries are the indicators of return to traditional fears in Europe.

We can say that the national concerns raised after the end of the Cold War in Europe have become deepened with the fear and concern after September 11 terrorist attacks. The global terror attacks spread to European capitals after September 11 caused the worldwide spread of fear of Islam and opened a new area of struggle for the foreigners, who already had a tough harmonization process. Another challenge is the fear that the national security will be put in front of

freedoms and democratic acquisitions and the struggle is against Western nation states and European Union. It seems that anti-immigration, anti-Islam and anti-European Union (EU) have become more visible with the return of traditional fears. Reciprocal distrust, radicalism and racism, violation of rights, limitation of freedoms and the traditional fears are the problems at the focal point of social concerns in 21st century Europe. European immigrants and executives who will challenge these problems and concerns with responsibility will take better steps into the future.

4.2. FROM CONFLICT TO DIALOGUE IN EUROPE

In our current world where globalization is still on a pace and the communication technologies do not have any boundaries, the need for the existence of an agreeable and conciliatory dialogue and environment among civilizations, nations, cultures and people is increasing gradually. An understanding of open society should be validated with an idea of multi civilization, multiculturalism and multi religiosity instead of the closed understanding which divides the world into two separate blocs, Western and non-Western. The population movements directed from Anatolia, cradle of many civilizations and cultures, towards Europe could play a historical role in the vitalizing of cultural relations. Today, it is possible for differences to live together in peace in a Europe where civilizations, religions and cultures collide and become neighbors. This study, on contrary with the thesis of clash of civilizations which has well-known defenders such as S. Huntington and Bernard Lewis, does not accept the thesis that differences will cause conflict. This study defends the idea, similar with Richard Bulliet's (2007) approach, that religions cannot be used as tools of conflict and that two ancient civilizations (Islam and Christianity) which existed together throughout the history can live together today, too. This chapter makes assumptions through the existence of European Muslims, in particular the European Turkish society in West; and tries to prove that differences can live together by the positive approaches summarized under four general titles.

4.2.1. The Self-Criticism of the Past and Constructing of the Future

Muslims and Buddhists in the Southeast Asian countries, Jews and Muslims in the Palestine, Muslims and Christians in the Central Africa; along with Muslims in the Middle East among themselves and Christians in Ukraine between themselves keep on killing each other as the world watches. Whatever the starting point of religions and beliefs are, power relations and benefits might capture the masses and leaders tragically.⁵⁵ Differences about religion, language, race and color have been the sources of hostility throughout the history. Until the French Revolution in 1789, the conflict stemmed from differences was basically around religious and sectarian issues. Nationalism began to be crystallized after the French Revolution and ethnic differences were added into the image of “other” along with religious and sectarian ones. Different ethnic groups that share the same religious belief have started to justify their supremacy on the “other” to their cultural values brought by racist and ethnic roots (Öktem, 2010: 63-64). According to Bulliet (2007: 23), what prevents us to imagine a Muslim-Christian civilization is the historical statement relies on fourteen century long fear and argumentation and the widespread belief in the West that there is something “wrong” with the Islam. But when we look as a whole and with a historical perspective, we can see that the thing unite the worlds of Islam and Christianity are much more than the things that separate them.

Western modernization project based on secular mind and science has at first created an enormous philosophical/mental pressure on Eastern societies, and in particular the Muslim societies through the Orientalism. The presentation of non-Western societies as barbarian tribes by using Western oriented classical modernity methodologies, and putting them as ignorant societies that need to be “civilized” have created the ground of justification for the West to expand globally (Nişancı and Çaylak, 2010: 225-226). West considers its own historical

⁵⁵ Alan Strathern from Oxford University who investigated the massacres and genocide in Myanmar and Sri Lanka wrote how the Buddhist doctrine turned into a language of violence. The title of the article which is published at BBC TURKISH is “Why do Buddhists Kill Muslims?” For more information, please see; <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25440010/> (15.08.2013).

past and cultural identity as “universal and unique” and therefore tried to establish its sovereignty on other civilizations and cultures of the world. Mono typist understanding of sovereignty and relation brings civilizations against each other with an attitude far from dialogue and open to conflict. According to Samuel Huntington (1996), the universalism claim of the West is the starting point for the conflicts with other civilizations- especially Islam and Chinese civilizations. Huntington (1996) also correlated Islamic radicalism with the current nature of the Islamic culture. But, this generalizing conclusion of Huntington is beyond the Islamic fundamentalism and directed to the Islam itself. Neither Islam not the Western world are unique by themselves. As the history of Islam clearly indicates, the mainstream Islam has always rejected or pushed to the edges the radicals and extremists in law and religiosity (Esposito, 2003: 157-159). Dr. Hursid Ahmed from Pakistan aligns the factors that obstruct the relations between Western and Islamic civilizations as imperialism, economic exploitation, education and cultural dominance of the West, abuse by Christianity and attack on Islam (Ahmed, 2011: 19-25). According to Roger Garaudy (2013: 152) the Western sciences today are dominated by positivism, as the Western humanitarian relations are dominated by individualism. Western culture considers West as the center. West considers itself as the only center of historical breakthroughs and the sole creator of values; therefore cannot imagine a separate progress model different than its own.

The trails of the Islam image of Europeans have on their minds have continued until today, even though centuries passed. The mass communication devices in West and East continue to define the Islamic movements and new establishments in the Islamic world as extremism, backwards, fanaticism and terror (Zakzuk, 2006: 87). The dissemination of administrative, cultural and religious effects of Islam to wide areas has always been a concern for Europe. In spite of the amazing developments Islam civilization experienced in certain periods, many authors in the West have mentioned the scientific, cultural and administrative developments in Islam very rarely. Therefore the Orientalism accepted Islam as a constant element of agitation and became an ecole which tries all the possible ways to struggle with it (Said, 1998: 112). Still, many Western originated researchers have

showed efforts to overcome that negative image, but these scientific studies did not do enough to delete the image constructed in the minds of the people for centuries. The importance of building relationships based on mutual tolerance and respect between the Islamic world and Western civilization increases gradually to self criticize the past and build a common future. It is a must to build peace and stability through a common mind of all sides in the current period when all mutual interests are interconnected.

The Japanese origin American Francis Fukuyama claimed in his article published in *the National Interest* in 1989 named as “The End of History?” that the Western liberalism has gained its biggest victory after the collapse of communism. According to F. Fukuyama, who also has been a consultant for the American presidents about the national security, Western liberalism has obtained a constant and perpetual dominance on all social ideas and philosophies on the world after the end of communism. Fukuyama’s contradictory opinion takes the methodology of “*conflict*” as the basic in relations with the “*others*”. This opinion is based on conflict and struggle, and takes the “*Western civilization model*” which limits the living area of weak civilizations and cultures, into the center. Samuel Huntington (1993, 1996) has already mentioned in his work named the “*Clash of Civilizations*” that Western civilization will involve in a struggle with other civilizations, and especially Islam. Huntington proposed the unification of the own civilization and the dominance of non-Western civilizations to be eradicated. In other words, author gives the hints about how to diminish the non-Western civilizations in the future through “*inter-civilizational clashes*”. Olivier Roy (2013: 21-22) summarized this situation as “*Islam never determines the clashes by its own, even though it is claimed that Muslims are involved in a majority of modern clashes*”. If we look at the history, we will see that none of the civilizations had the opportunity to dominate the world by its own. Many civilizations throughout the history had huge effects on the world as a result of interrelations of many cultures; humanity always had multiple civilizations within a certain period.

The Western Civilization has witnessed numerous regional and internal wars, as in the “Hundred Years Wars”. But the same the Western Civilization also has

achieved great revolutions such as the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. And the same the Western Civilization hosted many new developments such as democracy, liberalism, capitalism and modernism which have affected the nations of the world. After World War II, Muslims have migrated to the old Europe to fulfill the gap of workers. The migration of Arabs, Asians and Turkish Muslims to Europe is a huge religious and ethnic mobility, not as big as *the Migration of Tribes*, and its effect will be understood throughout the time. The approach based on conflict, which is emphasized by Bernard Lewis (1990) and Samuel P. Huntington (1993) with a Western centered view has reached to a new dimension with the settlement of millions of Muslims to the West. The single civilization role laid on the West and the perception that non-Western civilizations are simple actors, are changing every day. The rise of a Muslim middle class in Europe and the interaction of the representatives of two ancient civilizations necessitate new sociological analyses. One of these analyses is the prediction of a pluralist social life in the West, and especially in Europe, which will keep different religions and civilizations, different culture and identities together.

European politicians, intellectuals and civil society organizations started to determine new models for the adaptation of the Muslim immigrants. According to the interpretation by “*neo-liberalism*” which is formulated by Paul Berman (2004), Islam has to be liberalized and tailored with the Western norms or the liberal values should be defended against Islamism. According to neoliberals the conflict will not be between Islamic and Western civilizations; but between Islamism⁵⁶ and the liberal values of Europe (Bekaroğlu, 2009: 48). The adaptation model of neoliberals predicts two images of Muslims; a Muslim image that accepts the Western liberal values and internalizes them and the other one is liberalizing Islam and becoming Western. Both models proposed by the neoliberals have inconsistencies. Tarig Ramadan (2005), as a response to the neo-liberalists who claim that Islam could become Westernized by liberalizing, claims that the Islamic religious identity and the visibility of religious practices do not prevent the adaptation of Western liberal

⁵⁶ “*Islamism*” is an ideology nourishes by certain religious principles, but it does not follow an aim to construct an Islamic state, and an ideology that aims to develop an alternative identity to the national identity which is based on race-ethnicity (Çınar, 2005).

values. According to Ramadan, ethnic and religious identity is one of the most important belongings that define an individual; and makes the individual more consistent, powerful and respectful in individual and societal relations. In other words, it is predicted that individuals without national, religious or cultural identities will be more isolated, introversion and have lack of confidence. Against the “neo-liberal” circles Tariq Ramadan gives two important advises to the Western Muslims. First, that they should get rid of the Arabic/Asian elements which do not have any Islamic roots; and second, that they should enrich their lives with belief, prayer and spirituality.

As a result, many politicians, academicians and think tanks in the Western world have a distant relation with the approaches that predict a conflict both in short and long term. The number of people who consider the universal humanitarian values and cultural life styles based on ideology/belief among different civilizations as richness are increasing. The oppression of different ethnic and religious communities within the borders of another civilization is against the universal and humanitarian values. Therefore, Western and Islamic civilizations have generally followed the line “*respect for differences*”, instead of “*conflict*”, and rejected to be subject to a dominant civilization. For instance, Islam has accepted “pluralist philosophy” as a universal value and rejected the idea of a single civilization. Umara (2006: 71) presents the “*dialogue of civilizations at common points, and without revealing the differences and conflictual points*” as a pluralist and normative model. Today, monasteries, synagogues and mosques standing all around the world are clear indicators of the protection of differences. In short, the “*philosophy of dialogue*” should be made dominant instead of “*conflict*” considering the relations of different civilizations with one another in our world, which has become a global village.

4.2.2. Culture of Mutual Understanding and Tolerance

The problem of intolerance to the “other” is the problem that lies beneath defining the self according to the other side, considering his ideas as the sole truth and being close to everybody else. For instance, a statement that indicates non-Westerners have no place in Europe is the construction of a closed self. Such a construction of the self

does not go along with the open society model of Europe or the multiculturalism. The center of intolerance in Europe in the relations with “other” is the philosophy of the closed self. Building of a social tolerance by the natives and “others” through pluralist thought will help the European progress. But the majority culture will be more determinative in this case. Majority gives three different reactions to the “other”; assimilation, exclusion and tolerance. Assimilation and exclusion are the reflections of a self closed to cultural diversity and the ideal of a homogeneous society (Gündoğdu, 2008: 75-77).

Cultural identities, more or less, are the main part of everybody’s individual identity as well as part of the individual’s self respect. The lack of self confidence and self respect that will appear as a result of despise of minority’s collective cultural identity by the majority, makes it harder for them to participate the society in a healthy way. Therefore, the understanding of tolerance needed in individual and social relations must be based on the idea of justice. In a multicultural democratic society, the pre condition to live in peace with “others” is the tolerance based on the idea of justice and respect for the other side (Gündoğdu, 2008: 78-79). Today the multinational, multicultural and multi-identity Europe needs the mutual tolerance, dialogue and solidarity more than ever. In spite of all the misunderstandings, polarizations and conflict of interests from the past; the chance to carry Europe into a more prosper and habitable place depends on mutual understanding, recognition and dialogue. Therefore, it is obvious that the prerequisite of living together with the “other” in multicultural liberal democracies is the “mutual tolerance”. On the other hand, ethnic and religious minorities also have responsibility to disseminate the tolerance. So, living in peace with all the sections of the society depends on the just mutual recognition of the sides and the accomplishment of the basics of communicative rationality.

4.2.3. Permanent Actors of Living Together in Europe

As the borders between Islam and the West are diminishing in the globalized world, it becomes harder to define Islam and Islamic world as a unique structure. Different ethnic/religious and cultural societies which have been integrated have also become a part of Western societies’ texture as citizens, occupation groups or next door neighbors. Today there are numerous Muslims

in Western societies who are either third or fourth generation of citizens; who are parts of the societies at least like an American or a European (Esposito, 2003: 173-174). Famous historian Arnold Toynbee (1991: 78-79) said that the Eastern societies cultures have a very important humanitarian mission to provide a global world peace and a sustainable reconciliation (cited by Nişancı and Çaylak, 2010: 230-231). Islamic civilization, as the oldest one among Eastern civilizations and cultures, has a historical heritage to take responsibility in the construction of new millennium. The most important features which will contribute to the birth of a civilization are social, cultural and religious factors. Religion as a social concept has had an effect in every civilization so far. To overcome the global problems our world is facing and to provide the world peace, Islamic civilization is in a position to contribute a lot in terms of its historical past and the current location. Therefore, modern world should see that cherishing the differences and others, along with protection of the rights are in the base of Islam (Akdoğan, 2009: 133-148). As it can be seen in Andalusia and Ottoman experiences, Islamic civilization is an “*open civilization*”, as it accepts the right of existence for other civilizations. Today, Islam, as the religion with strong spiritual and moral codes, is the religion that spreads most rapidly in the West. Also, Westernization, because of its strong military, technological and economic sides, within the Islam world also continues rapidly (Şentürk, 2006: 92-119).

The project of the “*Alliance of Civilizations*” is a step for dialogue put into practice through a protocol signed between the governments of Spain and Turkey, which received the support of more than hundred members of the United Nations. In the background of this peace project implemented by the leaders of both countries lays the belief that a world which is idealized with the peace in the future is possible. The key to this peaceful world is dialogue with mutual respect. Representatives of two ancient civilizations (Islam and Christianity) have had a positive stance towards the improvement of mutual dialogue. Of course, the understanding of the concept of “*dialogue*” by the representatives of these two great civilizations will be different. If the parties

start to act with a feeling of historical, religious, linguistic or cultural superiority towards the other will make the dialogue unsuccessful.

The nationalist traditions and homogeneous cultural structures of civilizations which have been lasting for centuries cause the steps of dialogue to pursue very slowly. As the parties put their own identity and culture into the center with a defensive reflex, the persuasiveness of the dialogue process is damaged. A pluralist mentality focusing on mutual construction and sharing of the world would make the alliance of civilizations, which is a global vision of peace, more meaningful. From this point of view, what is really needed is not to bring all civilizations under an organization; but to guide the humanity to understanding, peace, solidarity and sharing. The report “*Islam and the West: Annual Report on the State of Dialogue*” issued by the World Economic Forum (WEF) in January 2008 addresses the interaction between Islam and the West. It was advised in the report to take careful strategic, political and economic steps in order to minimize the tensions and conflicts in different regions of the world. The report also emphasized the importance of dialogue in the creation of peace and locating mutual respect and sustainable understanding.

Individuals, ethnic/religious groups, official and unofficial institutions, civil society organizations, governments, religious institutions and leaders who are the parties of intercultural communication and dialogue in Europe, interact with each other at different levels and approaches. Minority based civil society organizations in Europe are becoming stronger with their increasing numbers; thereby have a voice in the decision making mechanisms of local, national and European Union institutions. The institutions that try to create a common understanding about “*participation*” and “*equal rights*” in the public opinion have started to communicate with local civil society organizations related with their issues, cooperate with them and produce common projects. Civil society dialogue between foreign originate civil society organizations and local institutions will obviously contribute to living together. Within this context, the cultural centers, kindergartens and formal educational institutions, centers of

dialogue and student dormitories can be counted as the permanent actors of the culture of living together.

The development of the culture of coexistence in societies is a social responsibility that should be covered from the beginning of school years. *“Peace Pedagogy Courses”*, advised by UNESCO to be implemented especially in the areas of conflict is an exemplary implementation to achieve a culture of coexistence. The culture of coexistence gained by the new generations at school has a value to create peace in families, nations, civilizations and the humanity. The most important point to be emphasized in here is that the culture of coexistence is not a draft work to be presented for a national or international project competition. On the contrary, culture of coexistence is social responsibility mission which is tested, applied and the results are seen. This responsibility is a culture of reconciliation which should be covered from kindergarten to the university.

One of the areas in Europe where intercultural interaction is very high is the area of social movements which have enormous followers within ethnic and religious minorities. Religious and non-religious social movements that follow a collective action strategy are interacting both within themselves and with their environment. Movements that spread the collective action space to all parts of the society can create a public opinion and addressed at national level. For example, religious minorities have more solidarity networks among themselves with the sense of community and coexistence in the Christian countries. At the same time, the religious institutions, are important parts of intercultural dialogue organizations, continue play a key role in the integration of new immigrants (Vilaça, 2014: 103-105). On the contrary, religious and social movements that limit their activity areas only with those who have the same ethnic/religious belonging do not seem to have an activity agenda which will contribute the communication and interaction with the host societies. Religious and social movements which are organized within them serve in different areas to their societies to have the necessary public support and financial competencies. Social movements that

interact with the host society are more open to socialization that will prevent the radical elements to find roots.

The term “*alliance of civilization*” used in this study does not mean the project started between the governments of Turkey and Spain; what it means is the role of European Turkish society in the inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogue. Today, the European countries that represent the Western civilization are hosting millions of Muslims who represent the Islamic civilization. Therefore, the Continent of Europe is the place where the representatives of these ancient civilizations interact at the highest level on earth today. This physical proximity in the Continent of Europe causes a mutual fusion, also the recall of the concepts of Muslim and immigrant together (Roy, 2003: 51). This study predicts that the immigrants of Turkish origin who represent the civilization of Islam in the pluralist, multicultural and democratic societies of Europe, will contribute to the intercultural dialogue. The social bonds realized by the European Turkish society in the last fifty years are assumed to build bridges of dialogue between the two civilizations.

4.2.4. Suggestions to Living Together in Europe

Theses that identify the Western culture and values with democracy and that centralize the West in inter-civilizational dialogue cannot contribute to the peace. An understanding which sees the Islamic civilization as a side of conflict and polarization will only reinforce conflict. Therefore inter-civilizational and intercultural dialogue could only be provided by a democratic understanding where different civilizations and cultures have an equal saying (Nişancı and Çaylak, 2010: 230-231). According to Dr. Hursid Ahmed from Pakistan (2011: 51-52), the common point of any cooperation between Islam and the West will only be achieved by considering Western and Islam cultures together and equally. This can only be achieved by remaining distant to prejudices in Western sciences. European countries that consider Islam as a threat to their national security should immediately leave the *security* context and move to the context of *justice* when dealing with the minority demands (Kaya, 2004).

The Continental Europe is one of the most democratic, safe and welfare places on the earth today, despite its inadequacies. The freedom of religion and conscience, cultural diversity, civil society, basic human rights and social rights are the acquisitions which should be taken further, thereby opening the gates of coexistence. It is mentioned that the socio-economic prosperity has individualized the European societies, minimized communication and caused isolations. To minimize these individual and societal risks; friendship, kinship, neighborliness and social relations should be revitalized. To struggle with this social illness at individual and society levels, briefings should be conducted and level of consciousness should be increased. Individuals without a relation with their own families, relatives or neighbors cannot be expected to communicate with people with other ethnic/religious belongings. Therefore, this unhealthy communication culture should immediately be left and culture of coexistence should be digested. Some of the individual and societal responsibilities to gain and sustain culture of coexistence are summarized below. These suggestions are listed in accordance with the 2011 report of the Group of Eminent Persons of the Council of Europe.

A. For Minorities:

- For the continuation of social peace, maximizing the adherence of minorities to laws and regulations ,
- Help them gain a consciousness of citizenship to know individual and social rights and to defend them,
- Disseminating the mutual love and respect which is important in the development of individual relations, Helping them to conduct house and workplace visits to develop friendship and neighborhood relations,
- Executing cohesive programs to disseminate the awareness of cultural and religious diversity in the host society,
- Improving the dialogue by organizing food workshops that introduce the Turkish/Anatolian cuisine and taste,
- Informing the new generations about norms and values, the constructive elements of pluralist societies by families and educators,
- Bringing in the language competency to people from all age groups,

- Providing the participation of immigrant families into school councils to increase their communication with the school and with their children,
- Civil society organizations of the minorities should conduct social projects which would prevent disintegration within themselves and among the social groups,
- Ethnic/religious movements should motivate their grounds and the public opinion at local and national levels to accept intercultural dialogue and culture of coexistence,
- Individuals should be encouraged to actively participate in socio-cultural areas, sports, music, special talents and politics at local and national levels,
- A sincere and pro-dialogue statement should be developed against the clichés and traditional fears about Islam and Muslims in Western societies,
- All the sections of a society should not be blamed for concepts such as discrimination, racism and xenophobia defended by a radical minority,
- Concepts of culture of coexistence and intercultural dialogue should be placed on a conceptual framework which will be accepted by all parts of the society,
- Taxpaying culture, one of the most important liabilities of a social state, should be taught starting from young ages,
- Strategic precautions should be taken to fight with radicalism which appears as a result of erosion of social bonds with the host society,
- The inciting opinions of the Islam about coexistence, abiding the rules and public participations should be mentioned by religious authorities very often,
- Dissemination of liberal and modern views of ethnic/religious minority origin role models within the society.

B . For Host Countries:

- Refraining from discrimination, racism, intolerance, inequality and torture towards ethnic and religious minorities that harm their trust to the government and to the system,
- Host societies should be more positive towards the immigrants to improve the social relations,

- Acting understanding, sincere, just, tolerant and humanitarian in relations with the immigrants,
- Equal use of all services by all parts of the society,
- Taking the strategic precautions in private and public spheres to provide equal opportunities,
- Expanding the rights and liabilities of minorities with a disadvantageous position,
- Being more sensitive and tolerant about the respect for the sacred to which Muslim minorities are very careful about,
- Printed and visual media should stop trying to establish a negative image for the ethnic and religious minorities,
- Problems of minorities should take place in the media morally,
- Efficient struggle with hate crimes in social media,
- Refraining from hate speeches which will polarize ethnic and religious minorities,
- Providing equal opportunities for the students from disadvantaged immigrant groups in terms of language, adaptation and social relations,
- Just, transparent and equal adaptation policies for ethnic and religious minorities,
- Dissemination of intercultural education to help society obtain a culture of coexistence in early ages,
- Dissemination of projects containing sports, music, photography, art and painting to create awareness in intercultural dialogue,
- Removing the obstacles for Turkey's EU membership and improvement of mutual relations,

4.3. INTEGRATION POLICIES AND THE DILEMMA OF MULTICULTURALISM

The migration movements in the last quarter of the twentieth century have gained new dimensions with the effects of political, social, religious, cultural and economic variables. It is seen that the European Union members do not

have a unique and static policy and application towards “immigrants” and “foreigners”; they carry the accumulations of historical and social experiences of the countries; and have the flexibility to be re-arranged according to the new conditions of the world (Küçükcan, 2008). In this section, which covers the migration and immigration policies of the European Union with reference to Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium are analyzed.

4.3.1. Integration Policies in Europe

The Western European countries have witnessed enormous migrations since the World War II, and they have tried to solve complicated problems with “strict migration and immigration policies”. These policies nourish the xenophobia statements and ideologies of racism and discrimination in these countries. With these “tough” immigration policies implemented in Western European countries immigrants are tend to be shown as sources of “threat”, “fear” and “crime” (Güllüpinar, 2014: 2). For instance Germany as a country of immigrants- even though it does not accept this- is trying to control the flow of immigrants by building separate immigrant categories and statuses. The implementation of “short-term accommodation” policy of Germany towards the immigrants from third world countries is lengthened only if the immigrants have the socio-economic competency. As shown with this implementation, the way to have extended rights and real citizenship in EU countries is only possible by having economic welfare. On the other hand, the residence statuses and the features of the society to which they belong for the disadvantageous individuals in the society are only a few of the barriers in front of becoming a real citizen. Turks in Germany, are otherized by being called “other” and “foreigner”, suffer from the lack of social acceptance in social and public spheres. We can even say that the new generations who were born, raised and educated in Germany are exposed to institutional discrimination. But, immigrants at this level are citizens of the European Union now.

Some disadvantageous groups within the European Turkish society which could not socialize and resist to isolation have remained excluded from social life and have a tendency to radicalization. Structural problems in the immigration policies

of Germany nourish the radicalism and extremist tendencies. Therefore, establishment of laws which cover all social, economic and public spheres, including education and work market, which are also against discrimination is one of the most important liabilities (Güllüpinar, 2014: 12-13). According to Brian Barry (1999), theory of multicultural citizenship stems from a liberal understanding that predicts the role of the state at a minimum level. The positioning of ethnic, religious and cultural groups within the majority as “national minorities” by the state itself limits the definition of multiculturalism.

Governments have understood that the immigrants are staying in their countries and developed three types of policies towards them. These are policies based on assimilation, pluralist policies and harmony-based policies. The Netherlands gives importance to the understanding of social state and therefore has applied harmony based or pluralist policies. Just like the Netherlands, United Kingdom has also supported pluralist and harmony based policies which gave an opportunity to protect and institutionalize the diversities (ethnicity, religion, language, culture and identity). On the other hand, countries like Germany and France have followed policies based on assimilation, which is not pluralist and liberal (Canatan, 1990: 56-75). Immigrant policies have been revised after September 11 attacks and the cartoon crisis; and they are trying to be balanced with nationalist tendencies such as racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia.

The Christian Democratic Union of Germany, which is conservative and led by Angela Merkel, supports conservative policies constructed on national and cultural unity. Social Democrats and Liberal Parties defend the idea that ethnic, religious and cultural differences could live under the social and political union together; on contrary with the conservative parties that reject cultural, religious and ethnic diversity. The idea of “Europe” on which Social Democrats and liberals have agreed upon rests on principles such as diversity, cultural differences, common future, democracy, human rights and secularism (Kaya, 2004). These parties also think that foreigners do not constitute a threat to the social and welfare state. On the other hand, the Party for Freedoms

(PVV) of radical and racist Geert Wilders in the Netherlands and the Vlaams Blok (the Vlaams Belang) in Belgium claim that Muslims are not integrated into the society, thereby rejecting the multiculturalism adaptation policies. The Vlaams Belang (VB) has showed the existence of Muslims as a threat for the future of European values after September 11 (Vural, 2005). Geert Wilders' anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant policies have found more support in the public after the murder of Dutch producer and director Theo van Gogh by a Moroccan Muslim. Propositions for taking special taxes from women with veil and the ban of Qur'an in the Netherlands are only a few of Geert Wilders' racist and discriminative policies.

Strategy of the "*War on Terrorism*" in USA and Europe after September 11 brought together very important axis shifts in immigrant policies. Precautions and strategies were focused on an understanding which considered the immigrants, especially the Muslims as a potential threat. According to Fekete (2004), racism has been increasing gradually in the last years and is spreading to settled Muslim groups. Therefore, fear of Islam, xenophobia and the othering harm the policies of multiculturalism in Europe. The economic concerns within the European Union also have an enormous effect on anti-immigrant ideas and policies. The most important tool to overcome these prejudices towards the foreigners will be a consistent adaptation policy and disciplined political ideas (Yılmaz, 2008: 213-219).

With the immigration policy accepted in Germany in 2007; right of double citizenship was abolished and making a language and citizenship examination as a prerequisite for family reunion is perceived as a return to assimilation policies. On the other hand, Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands could easily become citizens when compared with Germany; and therefore they evaluate the opportunities within the country more efficiently and rapidly. Besides, as the policies against discrimination in the Netherlands could be operated, ethnic solidarity among Turks, at least economically, is less. The structural state organization in Germany has created a negative effect for the perception of immigrants by the host society. The Turkish society, exposed to negative discrimination, has become introversive and created their

own spaces with a defensive reflex (Tol, 2012: 308-309). In the Netherlands, where important steps in terms of multiculturalism and integration have been taken, changing of some regulations and limitation of some rights about immigrants is very threatening. The ban of usage of Turkish in Germany and the Netherlands and the exclusion of Turkish courses from compulsory or credit course groups cause reactions among the immigrants (Şahin, 2010: 105).

The structural problems of the European Union and its member countries along with global financial crises make the European expansion uncertain. Even though the membership processes of Eastern European and Balkan countries are new, Turkey's marathon on membership has been going on for 25 years. The uncertainty of the finish line of this long marathon makes Turkey and the public opinion within more suspicious, also decreasing the belief to the union itself. The increasing dynamism of Turkish economy, geopolitical importance of the country between two continents, its secure energy corridors and the young population provide wonderful opportunities to the European Union, once it becomes a member. But it is understood that the European Union is not ready for a Muslim country and its political efficacy with 75 million of population. Also, the backward steps on human rights, democracy, law, freedom of thought and press in Turkey seem to interrupt the membership process. Foreign Affairs Commission of the European Union has explained on March 3, 2014 that Turkey was moving away from the criteria of European Union.

4.3.2. Return from the Policy of Multiculturalism in Europe

Multiculturalism is a model of thinking that works together with cultural pluralism and which is built upon principles such as freedom, tolerance and respect to individual differences. According to Frelas (1992: 56-59), multiculturalism approves the social approaches based on ethnic/cultural differences and legitimizes itself by cross-referencing the cultural mosaic of the society. Therefore, none of the ethnicities or cultures is superior to the other one and each life style is equal with one another in the idea of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism nourishes the tolerance among groups and helps the identities to improve with trust and understand each

other better. In short, multiculturalism is a model which approves the groups with different ethnic and religious belongings to protect their original identities, opens a living space for all types of cultural identities and supports them to protect their existence within this space (cited by Vatandaş, 2002: 19-22). Gerd Baumann (2007: 7) describes multiculturalism, which changes according to the person who describes it, as a pluralist cultural implementation within itself which is attributed to him and to the others. Baumann compares multiculturalism with a puzzle that changes within it; as it has three different meanings by three different sides. These are the ones who believe in a singularized national culture, those who search for their cultures in their ethnic identities and those who consider their religions as their cultures. Another view considers multiculturalism as a philosophical stance that predicts the reflection of all the differences that belong to pluralist societies into the public sphere (Banks and Banks, 2010).

First constructive step in the development of multiculturalism in old Europe has been the recognition of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities. Europe in 1990s, when the Cold War ended, the Soviet Union dissolved and European integration accelerated, also represents a process where minorities were also include into the concept of citizenship (Gülalp, 2006). The newest actor of multiculturalism implementations in Europe is the European Union itself (Ongur, 2011: 70). Western European countries did not want to consider themselves under the status of “immigrant country” for a long time; and when they finally accepted the permanence of the immigrants, they have started to state themselves as “multicultural society”. The Netherlands is at the top of this list. But, the current social and cultural realities of the Western countries are far away from the meaning of multicultural society paradigm. One of the most important political obstacles for the establishment of a multicultural society in Europe is the minority policies specifically followed by these countries. European governments today are developing special policies to assimilate the immigrant cultures, rather than actively supporting those as part of the pluralist approach. The philosophical stemming point of Europe’s minority-based minority policy is ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is putting the national culture at the center and judgment of the world outside in terms

of values and the norms of this culture. When we evaluate the minority politics of Sweden and the Netherlands, the closest countries to the pluralist societal model, with a criticism; we will see that even those countries pursue an assimilations policy (Canatan, 1990: 94-99).

Two giants of Europe, England and Germany, have blamed the multiculturalism policies as unsuccessful after the 2008 global financial crisis. Also, many European countries such as France, the Netherlands and Denmark have criticized the multiculturalism policies. Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany and leader of the Christian-Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) stated that building a multicultural society in her country has failed. Angela Merkel claimed that “... *this multicultural approach, saying that we simply live side by side and happily with each other has failed, utterly failed*” and said that “*the immigrants have to adapt more into the society*” (Yanarışık, 2013: 2915). The most important ground of those who criticize multiculturalism is the polarization among the groups of society and the dissemination of parallel societies which are not in a communication with each other. Ethnic and religious minorities which have different living cultures and identities prefer to live in their ghettos, which increases the gap with the majority, and causes a great concern for politicians and social scientists. Especially after September 11 and the terrorist attacks in European capitals, the possibility of the radical elements in distant ghettos to gain more support has caused great concerns. The thesis that says “*multiculturalism politics provides vast freedoms to ethnic and religious minorities to live their culture freely*” is in the middle of the arguments. Multiculturalism is making the ethnic, religious, economic and cultural differences at every level of life visible. And, again, multiculturalism does not accept the intervention of states over the sections of society. The basic argument is about the perception of multiculturalism as an inapplicable subject by the politicians, who rather prefer to construct a strengthened national identity. A dominant, hegemonic and monolithic European culture will harm cultural differences and eliminate the pluralist society model.

It is claimed that millions of Muslims in many EU members’ countries have showed a cultural resistance towards the expectations of host societies.

European multiculturalism does not consider Muslims as a separate minority group and provides nothing but the basic human rights (Ongur, 2011: 76-77). The discrimination of the European Muslims was not limited with the social space and carried to the political one, whatever it is called Islamophobia, xenophobia or racism (Wendy and Schoonenboom, 2004). His existence of a national, nationalist and imperious state power as the decisive authority for a pluralist and multicultural life and minority rights contains certain limitations within itself. Multiculturalism policies conducted by states in old Europe represent to give up limited rights to limited minorities for now. For instance, countries such as France, Germany, the Netherlands and Britain enforce unilateral and binding agreements to immigrants and residents (Geddes, 2003-2005). Germany and the Netherlands have been implementing dishonorable examinations to the family members of the minorities who live in their countries and to the new comers (Etzioni, 2007). The Government of French implements racist policies towards the Maghreb/African originate immigrants and deport a dozen of Roma (Gypsy) citizens from France. It seems that the Western politicians who have affected the masses by their nationalist and conservative steps are in more efficient positions than the technocrats who have designed multiculturalism. It can undoubtedly be accepted that the expansion of universal human rights policies including the minority rights and accepting that as universal value after World War II is an achievement of the multiculturalism in Europe. But the weakness of the societies who have learned to live together in a tolerant, multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious environment in old Europe is a clear indicator of the point multiculturalism reached so far (Ongur, 2011: 76-79).

CHAPTER FIVE - ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS & RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY AND EVALUATION

5.1. Demographic Profile of the Sample

The city based or quota sample distribution of the respondents whom the survey will be conducted to is in parallel with the regional distribution of the Turks living in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. The field research was conducted by 205 Turkey origin respondents in Cologne, Brussels and Amsterdam; 110 of them from Cologne (approximately %53 of all respondents) in Germany, 55 from Brussels (approximately %27 of all respondents) in Belgium and 40 from Amsterdam (approximately %20 of all respondents) in the Netherlands. Therefore, before conducting the survey, urban and rural areas where Turks are intensely living have been taken into consideration and a quota sampling has been prepared (See Table 3). The quota sampling application in order to represent the Turkish community in the selected regions; some basic variables such as gender, age, educational level, socio-economic status and generational differences were considered.

Table 3. The Sample Distribution of the Respondents by Countries&Cities

Country&C ity	The Respondents	% of all Repondents	Population of Turks in the Selected Cities	Population of Turks in the Selected Contries
Cologne in Germany	110	53	64.592	2.700.000
Amsterdam in the Netherlands	40	20	38.339	370.000
Brussels in Belgium	55	27	40.000	218.832
Total	205	100	372.714	3.288.832

Source: Statistic Netherlands, January 2008 and Consulate General of Turkey in Cologne, 2012.

According to the data, by January 1, 2013 Germany is the country where most of the foreigners are living among the 27 European Union countries (7.7 million persons). And the largest ethnic minority group in Germany is the German Turks (2.7 million persons). Cologne is one of the largest cities of North Rhine-Westphalia and there is a number of 64.592 Turkey originated people living in (1.1 million Turks are living in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany). Cologne has the most intense Turkish population of North Rhine-Westphalia where one third of Turks in Germany are living (Eurostat, 2013; Consulate General of Turkey in Cologne, 2012). Therefore the city of Cologne constitutes an important population in this study with its characteristic of representing the Turks. The reason why Brussels in Belgium is chosen as a sample is that the 18% of the total Turkish population in the country are living within this area. Another population of the sample group, Amsterdam is home to 10% of Turkish population in the Netherlands. On the other hand, this study has carefully gathered information from all ethnic and religious groups of Turkey (Turks, Kurds, Sunni and the Alevi etc.).

Table 4. Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

	a		b		c		d		e		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Gender	109	53	96	47	-	-	-	-	-	-	205	100.0
Age	-	-	109	53	82	40	14	7	-	-	205	100.0
Level of Education	1	0.5	16	8	54	26	98	48	36	17.5	205	100.0
Citizenship	69	33	57	28	79	39	-	-	-	-	205	100.0

Gender: a – Male / b – Female

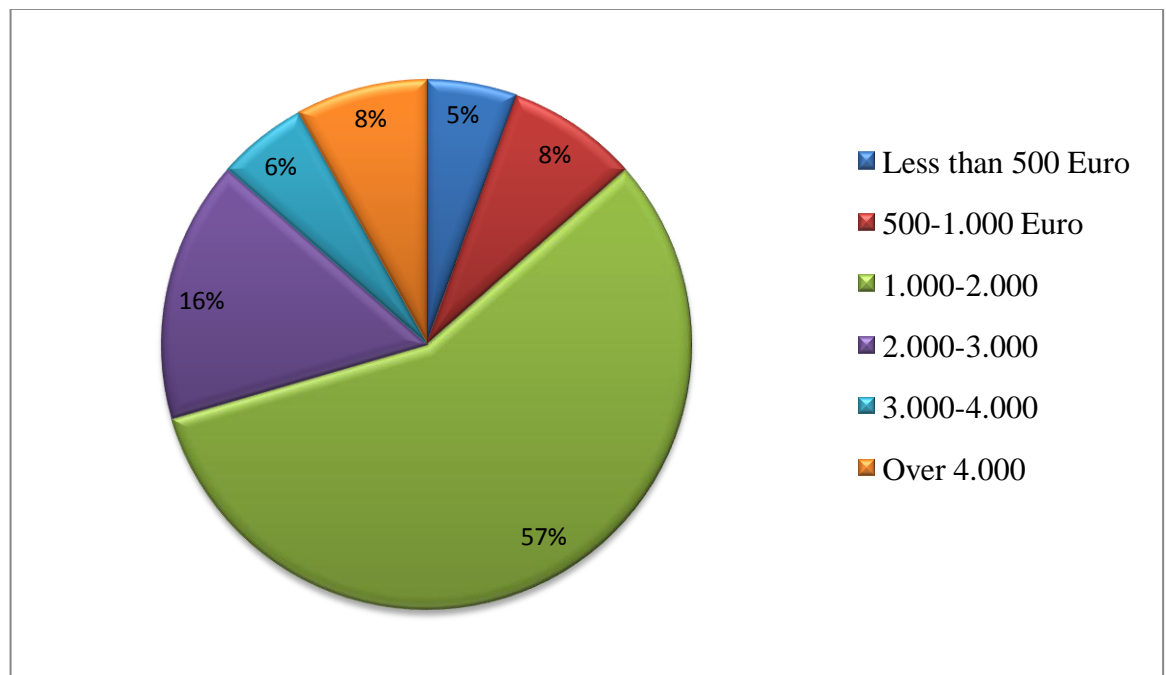
Age: a - Less than 18 age / b - 19-35 / c - 36-50 / d - 51-65 / e - Over 65

Level of Education: a – No Education / b – Elementary School / c – High and Technical High School / d- Undergraduate and bachelor's degree / e – Master and PhD

Citizenship: a – Only Turkey / b – Only Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands / c - Dual citizenship

Variables used to determine the changing location of ethnic/religious groups by country are education, position in business, income, property, ethnic and religious identity, political participation, social relations, gender roles and spouse choices (Crul and Heering, 2008: 22). In the countries that establish the sample group of this study (Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands), the demographic characteristics of the respondents are shown in Table 4. According to the data acquired from the respondents, 53% of the respondents (109 people) are male and 47% the respondents (96 people) are female. Again, 53% of the respondents (109 people) are aged 19-35 years, as 40% (82 people) are aged 36-50 years and 7% (14 people) are aged 51-65 years. On the other hand, 8% of the respondents (16 people) have primary or secondary school degrees, as 26% (54 people) have high school or occupational high school degrees, 48% (98 people) have college or university degrees, and 18% (36 people) have master's and doctoral degrees or still enrolled. 33% of the respondents (69 people) are only the citizens of Turkey, as 28% (57 people) are only German/Belgian/Dutch citizenship and 39% (79 people) have dual citizenship (See Table 4).

Figure 1. Socio-economic Status of the Respondents (%)



Socio-economical status is another demographic characteristic, and in this study it is not evaluated by the occupations of the respondents but with their monthly incomes. According to this, approximately 5% of the respondents (8 people) earn below 500 Euros, 8% (11 people) earn between 500-1.000 Euros, 57% (81 people) earn between 1.000-2.000 Euros, 16% (23 people) between 2.000-3.000 Euros, 6% (8 people) between 3.000-4.000 Euros and 8% (11 people) 4.000 Euros and more (See Figure 1). The results of different categorical income distribution show that only 63% (130 people) of the respondents are working at any job that would bring income. 37% (75 people) of the respondents are not working due to reasons such as retirement, being a housewife, disability, studentship or unemployment (See Table 6). On the other hand, 32% of all the respondents (66 people) receive social aid from the government as 68% (139 people) does not receive any social aid at all.

Table 5. Important Reasons of the Non-working Respondents

	Respondents (Frekans)	% of Non- working Respondents
Unemployment	17	23
Retired	7	9
Housewife	17	23
On maternity leave	1	1
Full-time student	29	39
Long-term disabled	4	5
Total	75	100.0

According to the data in Table 5, which basically indicates the reasons why people are not unemployed, 23% of the respondents (17 people) can't find a job, 9% (7 people) are retired, 23% (17 people) are housewives, 1% (1 person) is at maternity leave, 39% (29 people) are students and 5% (4 people) are disabled. It is worrying that the problem of unemployment as in not finding a job is very high

among the minority groups. When we look at the distribution between countries among the respondents, we see that the rate of unemployment in Germany is higher than the rates in other two countries. Today, in Germany, where Turks have the highest level of intensity, the rates of unemployment among the Turkish immigrants are twice as more than the unemployment within the rest of society. The most important factors effective on the high rates of people living with unemployment and social aids are inadequacy of occupational training, keeping up with the social aids, narrow employment and inequalities in opportunities. The Turkish immigrants have difficulties in finding jobs within the sectors such as industry and high technology on which the German economy rests and their occupational training standards should be increased. On the other hand, women's responsibility of housework and childcare creates another risk group outside the working environment. Besides the harsh economic conditions, the inequalities in the opportunities for the immigrants increase the risk groups pushed out of the system.

Table 6. Other Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

	a		b		c		d		e		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Marriage Status	115	56	53	26	6	3	23	11	3	1	205	100.0
Have a child	113	55	92	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	205	100.0
Have a job	130	63	75	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	205	100.0
Spoken language at home	76	37	1	0.5	0	0	2	1	126	61.5	205	100.0
Level of language of the host country	114	56	64	31	23	11	4	2	-	-	205	100.0
Dwelling house	76	37	113	55	13	6	3	1	-	-	205	100.0

Marriage Status: a – Married / b – Single / c – Widowed / d – Divorced / e – Engaged /

Have a child: a – Yes / b – No

Have a job: a – Yes (working) / b – No (not working)

Spoken language at home: a – Only native language / b – Only Germany / c – Only French or Dutch (Belgian) / d – Only Dutch / e – Both native language and second foreign language

Level of language of the host country: a - Advanced level / b - Intermediate level / c – Basic level / d - No language of the host country

Dwelling house: a – Landlord / b – Tenant / c – Municipal owned house/ d – Corporate owned house

A series of findings about the demographic characteristics of the respondents from the sampling countries (Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands) are listed in Table 6. According to the data acquired, 56% of the respondents (115 people) are married, 26% (53 people) are single, 3% (6 people) are widowed, 11% (23 people) are divorced and 1% (3 people) are engaged. 55% of the respondents (113 people) have at least one child and 45% (92 people) have declared they do not have any child. On the other hand, 37% (76 people) of the respondents say that they only speak their native language (Turkish, Kurdish etc.) in the house; and 62% (126 people) indicated that they speak both their native language and a second one. An important portion of the respondents prefer to speak their native language and the language of the country they are living in (German, French or Dutch); which shows that they want to remember their native language and also desire localization.

Besides, 56% of the respondents (114 people) speak the language of the country they are living in at an advanced level, 31% (64 people) at intermediate level, 11% (23 people) at basic level and 2% (4 people) not at all. One of the most important indicators that the Turks in Western European countries are permanent is their desire to have property. 37% of the respondents (76 people) have their own house and 55% (113 people) are tenants (See Table 6). According to the report of Turkey Research Center (TAM, 2006) named “*Turkish Population in the Netherlands and EU Countries, Household Data and the Economic Power of Entrepreneurs*” among the 93.600 Turkish household in the Netherlands, 17.000 of them own a house. This is approximately 20% of the Turkish household in the Netherlands. When we look at the demographic data about the respondents, we

can easily say that the Turkish society in the Western Europe has an increase in the socio-economic level, language capabilities and localization as an important indicator of socialization. On the other hand, the fact that the language spoken within the household is preferred to be the language of the country they are living in indicates that the young generations are familiar with the local language and also setting a distance with their native language.

Table 7. How many years you lived in Germany/Belgium/the Netherlands?

Time Period	Respondent (Frekans)	% of all Respondent s
Less the 5 years	20	10
6-15 years	49	24
16-30 years	43	21
Over 31 years	31	15
Born in Germany/Belgium/the Netherlands	62	30
Total	205	100.0

The period of stay by ethnic/religious minorities in host countries are important indicators in terms of socio-cultural interaction, socialization, participation and living together. For instance, an important portion of Turks in Germany were born in Germany or have been living in Germany for a long time; which increases being settled down and localization. According to the report published by German Statistical Office and the Foundation for the Turkish Research Center (TAM) in 2008; there are 3 million Turks in Germany and 1 million 522 thousand of those have come from Turkey, whereas 1 million 433 thousand of them were born in Germany (Özcan, 2011). 10% of the respondents of this study (20 people) have been living in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands for 5 years. 24% (49 people) have been living in these countries since 15 years and 21% (43 people) since 30 years. 30% (62 people) were born in the countries they live in (See Table 5). On the other hand, 42% of all the respondents (86 people) have declared that they

have migrated to Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands through family union or marriage. Again, 11% (23 people) of all respondents migrated for work, 15% (30 people) for education and 2% (4 people) for political reasons.

On the other hand, the replies of married, widowed or divorced respondents (144 people/ approximately 70% of the respondents) on the question how they made their choice of marriage gives important hints on inter generational changes and socio-economic factors. According to this, 55% of the married, widowed or divorced respondents (79 people) have married with a Turkey originated man/woman in Turkey, 38% (55 people) have married with a Turkey originated man/woman in Germany/the Netherlands/Belgium and 7% (10 people) have married with a non-Turk. We can say that there are three types of marriages in Western European countries where Turks are intensely living. First one of them is the spouses as “imported brides and grooms” brought from Turkey. Another marriage choice that has been increasing in the recent years is the marriage conducted with people in Western Europe who are from same ethnic origin. Third type is the type of marriage conducted with people who are not from Turkey. This data indicates that the youth from Turkey usually prefer to marry with people from same ethnic/religious origins. Another important point about the marriages with people from same religious and ethnic groups is that the majority prefers to marry with people who were born and raised in Europe rather than Turkey. Most important reason of this is the new immigration laws in Europe which made imported brides and grooms from Turkey almost impossible (age, education and linguistic obligations). Another reason is the linguistic and cultural alienation of the spouses from Turkey into the social and public harmony of the host country. Still, the prejudices and the reactions of conservative families towards the young women/men who could not act according to the Turkish-Islamic culture cause the marriages from Turkey.

5.2. Identity, Acculturation and Adaptation

‘*The theory of social identity*’ defines the motivation of socio-economically disadvantaged groups members’ gaining a social identity and status as a result of their relations with the social environment (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Evaluating

the cultural identity transformation of the European Turkish society within the fifty years long migration process within the boundaries of “*social identity theory*” gives us important hints. The limits of interaction between the Turkish immigrants and mainstream culture have changed within the scope of socio-economic status and education level of Turks and with its relation to the Turkish cultural identity. According to a study conducted on the social integration of the Turkish society in Germany, there is a positive relationship between adapting the German culture and variable of education, occupation and income. On contrary, there is a positive relationship between sustaining the Turkish culture and adopting the Turkish identity, communicating with the Turks. On the other hand, there is a negative relationship between sustaining the Turkish culture and education; but a positive one with occupation. In other words, as the level of education increases and that there is an occupation, the level of sustaining Turkish culture (Şahin, 2010: 115-116).

The diversity in the sustainability of Turkish culture or adaptation of German culture indicates us that there is a fact of a hybrid culture. Also, the identity pressures of the majority causes the immigrants to become introversive and establish parallel life standards away from the centers along with this, immigrants refuse the cultural codes of the country they are living in and put forth their own identities; which causes a conflict of identities sometimes as the immigrants insist on protecting their own culture. In spite of the conflicts with mainstream cultural identity, the borders of interaction enhance and new existences appear that do not exclude each other, but also do not look like each other. This binary identity which appears as the Turkish-German hybrid identity is an indispensable result of fifty years long immigration process (Cengiz, 2010: 188-192). On the other hand, religion, which appeared in the first years of the migration with its function of socialization, can be an identity tool and shelter for immigrants who feel themselves excluded and discriminated. For the Turks living in Germany, religion transforms into an European Islam form, sometimes open to dialogue and sometimes more secularized. But for a more general and intensive population, religion continues to be considered as a tool of definition that has become integrated with identity within its folkloric and traditional characteristics, and that

eventually completes it (Çelik, 2008: 141-142). Our study, which handled the Turkey originated immigrants' problem of religion, identity and culture and their struggle to survive with these social facts comparatively on the selected sample, has revealed important results.

Table 8. The Opinions of the Respondents about Sense of Belonging

	Respondents (Frekans)	% of all Respondents
Turks, Kurds and other ethnic identities	75	37
Muslim	145	71
Turkish (country belonging)	99	48
European	44	21
German/Belgian/Dutch	62	30
Other	17	8

The self-definition of the respondents has been analyzed through identity belonging in Table 8. Respondents were asked to define three (3) belongings that they felt close to. 71% of the respondents (145 people) called themselves as Muslim, 48% (99 people) as from Turkey, and 37% (75 people) called themselves either as Turkish, Kurdish and other ethnic identities. The rate of people who have defined themselves with European identity is 21% (44 people) and the rate who defines themselves with their German/Belgian/Dutch identity is 30% (62 people). The data indicates that the people from Turkey define themselves by being from Turkey and their ethnic belongings, starting with being Muslim. Also, the respondents were asked to define three (3) political views they considered as closest to themselves. According to this; respondents have called themselves as conservative (34% / 70 people), democrat (34% / 70 people) and social democrat (27% / 56 people). Also, 21% (44 people) called themselves as nationalist, 23% (48 people) as religious and 11% (22 people) as Islamist. This data reveals that the

Turks living in all three countries define themselves first with religious identity, then ethnic identity and finally with the country they are living in. On the other hand,

The proportional minority of the people who define themselves through the “Europeanness” identity indicates the “Europeanness” identity is not being developed sufficiently in both the Turkish community and the majority communities. The “European citizenship” and “Europeanness” ideas as a social and political project did not yet start to be fruitful for the European Turkish society. But, the reconstruction of a definition of Europe relying on cultural diversity and a European identity will provide the European Turkish society and other minorities to be participant dynamic actors.

The socio-economic level of the respondents and inter-generational differences are determinant in the analysis of political opinions and definition of identity belongings. Among the respondents who are below the middle income level and who have an economic freedom that rests on labor; we see ethnic and religious belongings like Turkish/Kurdish/Turkish or Muslim/the Alevi, along with conservatism and religious worldviews. On the other hand, it is understood that the respondents with middle or above income levels have a worldview in which they live Islam only with cultural norms and share a democrat and liberal stance. As we see that more than half of the respondents calling they as conservative, democrat or liberal; it becomes clear that the traditional Turkish Muslim identity is still carried on. Contrary with the decrease of ethnic and religious awareness among the respondents with high socio-economic and education levels, we also see an increase in the internalization of Western democracy and modern life style.

In terms of another determinant factor, inter generational differences, the identity belongings and political worldviews of the respondents differ. Strong level of identification with the religious identity which is seen in first and second generations has lost its effect on generations born and raised in Europe. Even though the young generations also put forward their religious identities, they do not seem enthusiastic about exercising the necessities and practices of religion. Along with this, young generations have turned into groups of people who can

follow the socio-cultural and political developments both in their countries and the countries they live in, supra-national people (Kaya, 2011). We can also say that until the end of 1990s, the first and second generations of immigrants were shaped by the dominant political and ideological discourse of Turkey and have set forth a cultural Islam dependent on their economic concerns. None the less, third and fourth generations have developed a cosmopolitan identity that adopts cultural diversity and tolerance on differences as a principle. A field study named “*Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the European Union?*” which was conducted in 2003 and 2004 with 1.065 respondents from Germany, gives important hints about the identity belongings. According to this field study, German-Turks seem to have developed cosmopolitan, hybrid, global and sensitive identities which redefine *Europeanizes* and open to change. Compared with the Turks in France, Turks in Germany are more adaptive into the social, political and cultural climate of the country they are living in, using the devices of globalization in a better way and have the power and courage to shape the geography of Germany (Kaya and Kentel, 2005).

The answers given by the respondents to the question “*How important are the responsibilities and liabilities enforced by Islam on Muslims important for you?*” were by 62% (127 people) “very important”, by 25% (52 people) “important”, by 7% (14 people) “a bit important” and by 6% (12 people) “not important at all”. 61% (67 people) of the male respondents (109 people) thought that Islam had an important place in their life; whereas 63% (60 people) of the female respondents (96 people) had the same opinion. On the other hand, about 64% (70 people) of the respondents aged 19-35 years (109 people) and 62% (51 people) of the respondents aged 36-50 years (82 people) have indicated that Islam has a “very important” place in their life. When we evaluate the respondents according to their income, we see that 64% (64 people) of those with around 2.000 Euros of income (100 people) think that Islam has a “very important” place in their life. On the other hand, 43% (18 people) of those with at least 2.000 Euros income (42 people) think that Islam has a “very important” place in their lives. Results indicate that the perception of religious identity among the first and second generation immigrants from Turkey is stronger comparing with the new generations. Main

factor why religious identity is more apparent in the second generation is the negative reactions and statements towards Muslims. Many people of Turkish origin, who consider the main responsibilities of Islam as a part of their religious identity, think that religious belonging will revive the psychological and nationalist sentiments. It is thought that the individuals who do not fulfill their religious responsibilities will have problems in defining themselves at national, religious and cultural meanings; which will eventually turn them into introverted, isolated and lack-of-confidence people. On the other hand, the religious identity feeling of the Turkish immigrants seems more apparent than the religious belonging of host societies. The identity based search of existence of the Turkish immigrants keep the public opinion busy in the Western societies, with Germany on the front. Different religious sects of the Turkish immigrants get involved during their identity based existence makes the host societies think that the Turks could not reach to social consonance (Perşembe, 2005: 284).

When we look at the differences of the countries in terms of religious belonging, we see that the Turks in Germany have a more traditional, nationalist and conservative view comparing with the Turks in Belgium and the Netherlands. In other words, the long lasting traditional and conservative German politics has caused the Turks in Germany to follow more traditional, communitarian, religious and ethnic identities, which is understandable (Kaya and Kentel, 2005). Generally, as in Turkey, we can see a fragmented and diversified religious identity belonging and worldview within the European Turkish society. Especially the majorities of which the first generations are a part of refer to traditional Turkish-Muslim identity; the generations who were born and educated in Europe have a more cosmopolitan and “European” identity. The ties of the first generations and the socio-economically upper groups with their homeland and the consciousness of religious belonging are weakening every day. In short, the European Turkish society is wandering around in search for an Eastern, Western and religious Muslim identity. This search is open to change and development, which are the dynamics of new globalized world order.

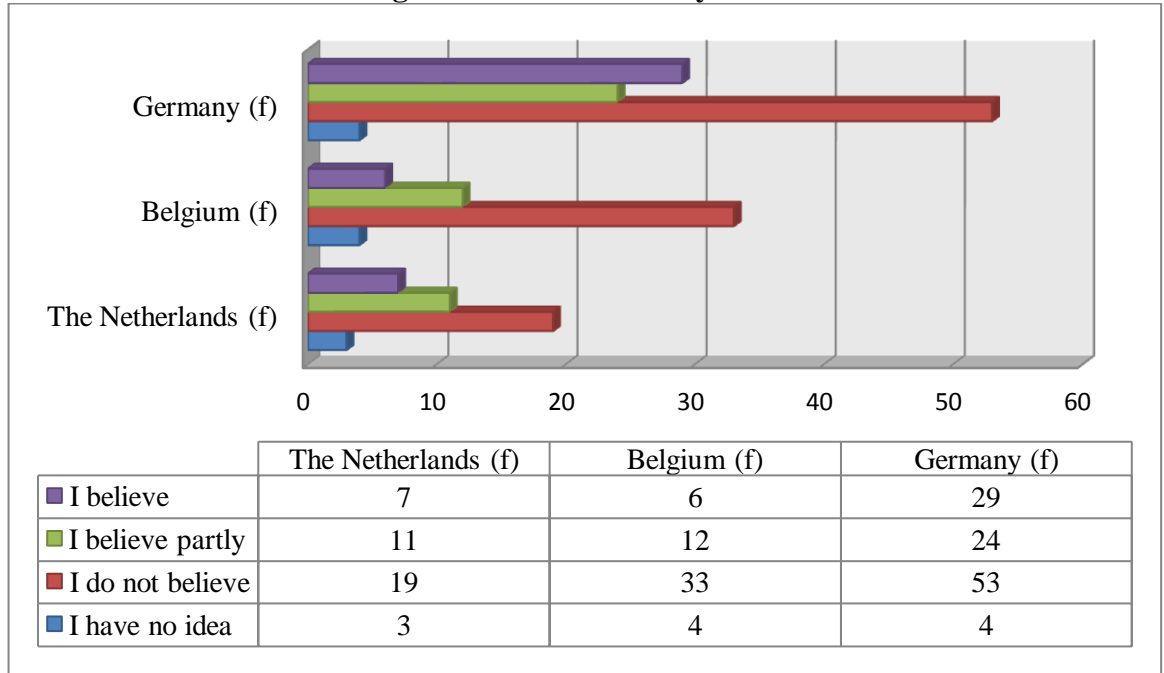
The EU candidacy of Turkey and the arguments of parallel societies in the ghettos cause the feeling of loss of geographical and cultural boundaries within the European collective consciousness. Possible existence of Turkey within the EU and the current existence of Muslims within the European ghettos bring down the feeling of “being home” in the sub consciousness of the Europeans (Göle, 2010: 15-22). Even though sharing the same place with Muslims who have religious and cultural differences is a very important issue for the Westerners, Turks in Europe support Turkey’s European Union membership. 54% of the respondents (110 people) support Turkey’s European Union membership, and 46% (95 people) are against it. The respondents think that with the European Union membership, Turkey will be closer to them in terms of distance and that the membership will make great contributions both to themselves and to Turkey. The hope and expectation that Turkey’s European Union membership will change the disadvantageous position of the European Turkish society is another reason that increases the support. The point that the people who oppose Turkey’s European Union membership come together are the idea that the dominant culture will eventually weaken the community which is distant to the secular and modern life style of the West. Another reason for their opposition is the expected increase in racism and xenophobia as a result of the new masses that will move into Europe after membership.

On the other hand, according to the results of the study “Euroskepticism in Turkey” conducted by Hakan Yılmaz in 2003; approximately 60% of the respondents think that dual standards are applied for Turkey, that Turkey is kept busy and is not considered as a part of Europe. The question of “*Do you think that our national independence and sovereignty will be in danger if we become a member of the European Union?*” is answered by 44% “Yes” and 42% “No”. Another question was “*Do you think that the European Union was built on Christian values?*” was answered by 55% “Yes” and 30% “No”. According to Yılmaz, issues such as Cyprus, anti-Turkey policies of France because of the Armenian problem and anti-Turkey policies of Germany and Austria have caused the skeptic Turks to step even further away from the EU (Yılmaz, 2009). But, Turkey’s possible EU membership will be an important indicator that intercultural and interciviliation

cooperation is possible. On the other hand, according to the report of Eurobarometer (November 2013); only 31% of the Europeans have a positive image of the European Union, as 28% have a negative one. The image of European Union was 50% in 2006, and it dropped back to 31% in the past 7 years. On the other hand, Europeans who are optimistic about the future of European Union are around 51%, and the pessimistic ones are at 43%. The optimists were around 69% in 2006 and dropped to 51% in the past 7 years. One of the main reasons of decreasing hopes and loss of image about the European Union is the concern after 2008 economic crisis and the fear that the EU integration process eventually harms national identities.

The question “*Do you believe that a possible membership of Turkey into the European Union would contribute to the alliance of civilizations and intercultural dialogue?*” was answered 60% (124 people) “Yes” and 40% (81 people) as ‘No’. These results clearly indicate that the traditional conservative groups in the West that oppose the membership of Turkey into the EU hurt the belief that the people originating from Turkey who were raised and trained in their countries could contribute a lot to living together and multiculturalism. According to Joscka Fischer, if Christianity in Europe is given more social importance than it is today, then first the secular branches of the society and then non-Christian minorities will be excluded from the society. Any type of axis change on this situation will be a dividend action for Europe, rather than being integrative. Muslims are counted as millions today and Islam is the second- largest religion in Europe. According to Fischer, it will be a great opportunity for them to integrate with the Western societies without getting under the effect of radical elements in both societies. In case this historical opportunity is missed, this will result with a great disaster for both sides (cited by Dinç, 2011: 40-41). Therefore, Turks living in Western European countries seem like that they will contribute to the politics, public system and dominant cultural life of the countries they are living in a lot.

Figure 2. Do you believe that your religious identity or culture prevents your integration with the society?



“Do you believe that your religious identity or culture prevents your integration with the society?” was replied by the respondents as 20% (42 people) “I believe”, 23% (47 people) “I partly believe”, 51% (105 people) “I do not believe” and 6% (11 people) “I have no idea”. Considering the differences among countries 48% of the Turks in Germany (53 people), 60% of Turks in Belgium (33 people) and 48% of Turks in the Netherlands (19 people) said “I do not believe” (See Figure 2). We can say that the opinion of Western public changed negatively towards the Muslims after the terrorist attacks of September 11 (2001) and the murder of film producer Theo Van Gogh by a Moroccan radical Islamist. Islam, as a determinant factor on the cultural identities of migrants from Turkey, could also be a reason of their communitarian separation from the general public. For instance, in Germany when someone says foreigner, the first group that comes to mind is the “Turks” and when someone says Turk, the first thing that comes to mind is “Islam”. Therefore, a certain part of Turks in Germany prefer to revive their religious identity when they are discriminated because of their religious life styles and practices. The perception of “*people who are against the Islam are also against Muslims*” strengthens the image that religious identity and culture could prevent integration among the Turks in Europe.

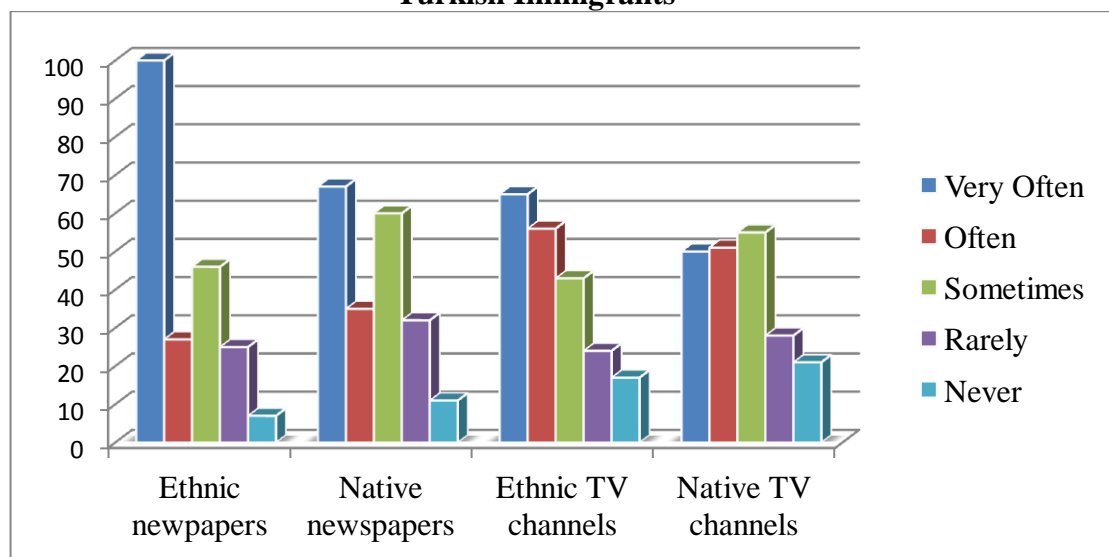
Religious and cultural differences and common universal values which have centuries long roots are rich historical heritages for Muslim and Western civilizations. Today, pluralist and universal values such as sacredness of life, family union, economic welfare, education, peace and security, social justice, political participation and democracy, freedom and human rights are strongly defended by the majority of Muslims (Esposito, 2002: 7-8). Therefore, it is predicted that the universal values resting on mutual understanding and respect, accepted by the majority will contribute to permanent and constructivist relations in the future instead of tensions and conflict. Within this context, the Turkish immigrants who see the socializing and unifying effect of Islam in social life and know that Islam is not a discriminative and conflicting belief; also think that their religious and cultural identities do not prevent integration at all.

When we evaluate the religious and cultural identities of the second and third generation in Europe, we see three different groups among the youth. First of these subgroups is the alienated youth, which is an assimilated or harmonized group with the dominant culture. These young people communicate easily with the host communities and describe themselves as modern; also they do not go to Turkish coffee houses or mosques that much. Another youth group that belongs to second and third generations is the Islamic youth, and they appear with their opposition to the dominant culture and system along with their external look. This youth groups originated from the communitarian structures, and they pursue a policy of radical attitudes towards modern life styles and have an ideal of developing an alternative life style. Another youth group can be named as marginal youth; and they are a group which cannot cope with socio psychological and economic problems such as insufficient education, unemployment, financial problems and discrimination, therefore alienated. The youth who belong into this group experience problems resulting from alcohol, gambling, drugs and burglary more often (Canatan, 1995: 75-82). Religious values have an important place in the identity search of young generations. But, as a result of modernization, religion has greatly lost its aspect of establishing the base of humanitarian relations in social life (Kula, 2001). This obvious decrease in the role of religion in social life is actually an indicator that cultural Islam started to replace

traditional Islam. Especially the current generations experience a cultural Islamic rhetoric where beliefs and religious rules are not felt too much in the daily lives. According to Turner (2003: 274), Western consumption culture diminishes the bases of traditional life styles and therefore weakening the traditional religious implementations in terms of habits.

Tariq Ramadan (2005: 249-251) has mentioned two issues for Muslims to be European: First, leaving their non-Islamic habits (Arab and Asian elements) aside and second, to enrich their lives with belief, religious service and spirituality. Ramadan separates himself from Moroccan politician Ahmed Aboutaleb, who claims that by liberalizing Islam, one can become westernized. Ahmed Aboutaleb has adopted “New liberalism” and believes that there is a conflict between Islamism and liberal values in spite of a possible conflict between Islam and the West. Ramadan objects this liberal trend and claims that making Islamic religious identity and practices visible will not harm anyone. Ramadan thinks that religious identity, as one of the most important belongings that define an individual, will revive the psychological and national sentiments. In this sense individuals who cannot define themselves in national, religious and cultural ways will eventually become isolated, introversive and diffident. Therefore, it is an undeniable fact that the individuals who define themselves both as Europeans and as Muslim will contribute a lot to living together in a pluralist society.

Figure 3. Ethnic and Native Press & Media Following Frequencies of the Turkish Immigrants



The question “*How often do you follow the Turkish and local newspapers and TV channels in the country you are living?*” and the responds given give us important hints about the search of belonging and level of consciousness of the Turks. According to this, 33% (67 people) of all respondents regularly follow the newspapers with local language, and 49% (100 people) follow the Turkish ones. Again, 25% (51 people) of the respondents follow local TV channels, as 27% (56 people) follow the Turkish broadcasting TV channels (See Figure 3). The European Turkish society occasionally follows the printed media and TV channels, both in the national/local languages where they live and also in Turkish. The usage of printed and visual media in local/national languages is one of the most important tools that provide the adaptation of Turks in their new environment. On the contrary, the news about Muslims provided by the Western media in an ideological and biased way diminishes the confidence of Muslim Turk minority to the media in general. As the access to mass communication tools has increase, the printed and visual media which broadcasts both from Europe and from Turkey has increased the dimensions of cultural transmission between Turkey and the European Turkish society. The Turkish newspapers and TV channels broadcasting in Turkish help the immigrants from Turkey to keep their bounds alive with their homeland and cultures. The Turkish immigrants, who visit Turkey at least once in every year and strengthen their ethnic religious identities, follow the daily events in Turkey mostly from TV channels and lately from intensified internet media. 91% (187 people) of the respondents have internet access either in their home or in their workplace, which indicates the level of usage of Internet and social media. Therefore, the continuing relations with the homeland consolidate the acculturation and ethnicity consciousness within the European Turkish society.

The numerical data on Figure 3 indicates that majority of the Turkish immigrants follow the local/national broadcasting newspapers or TV channels less than native TV channels and newspapers. One of the most important reasons of these is the broadcasting policies of Western European countries’ local and national media organs which eventually produce negative perceptions and images about Muslims. These biased and subjective media broadcastings in Europe, which encourage the polarization and dissociation, have become a global tool in the hands of some

certain global capital groups and fanatic politicians. Negative news and comments against the Muslims which have begun especially after September 11 have caused serious anti-Islamic movements and sensitivities in countries such as Germany and England, where Muslims are living intensively. For instance, anti-Islamic activities and sensitivities in Germany can be witnessed in magazines, TV screens or in petitions against construction of mosques. A radical rightist association in Germany, named “*Bürgerbewegung Pax Europa (BPE)*”⁵⁷ identifies terrorism and Islam with each other and considers establishing an Anti-Islamic party against the Islamization of Europe. Germany openly objects the European Union membership of Turkey, and it is thought that this is the result of the negative image constructed by the media against the Turks.

On the other hand, the reasons why immigrants cannot follow the economic, political and cultural developments of the countries they are residing in as a German or a British person does, can be counted as socio-economic realities, lack of education and social isolation. Lack of language and education in the first generation along with unemployment, discontent, identity problem and apathy in second and third generations limit the following of national/local language media. One of the most important factors is national and ethnic media that effects socio-cultural and political participation in participant, democratic and modern societies, it seems to be lacking the social motives which will integrate the European Turkish society into socio-cultural and political life with all its units.

5.3. Democratic Citizenship and Civil Rights

Variables such as socio-economic development, education, gender, citizenship, understanding of pluralism and intergenerational differences play a very effective role in political participation and demand for civil rights. For instance, in the Netherlands, participation of Turks in local and national decision-making processes is above 50% (sometimes above the national average) is a result of “*urban citizenship*” right given to them. People who have 5 years long of residency in the Netherlands (including those from non-EU countries) have the

⁵⁷ For more information about the BPE, please see; <http://www.paxeuropa.de/> (12.05.2014).

right to vote, candidacy in local elections and establishing political parties. In short, those people who are “*urban citizens*”, even though they are not Dutch or EU citizens, have the right to vote and to be candidate (Benhabib, 2004: 156-157). In the Netherlands, foreigners have the right of suffrage since 1984; but in Belgium this right was given to non-EU citizens in 2006. Both the Netherlands and Belgium have dual citizenship rights, and 73% of the Turks are Dutch citizens, whereas 70% of them are Belgian citizens. In Germany, the dual citizenship right was given only in July 2014 and 35% of the Turks are German citizens. The people whose only citizenship is from the Turkish Republic are those who migrated in the early years to Belgium and the Netherlands. Even though many EU countries have provided the right of suffrage to citizens of third world countries in local elections, Germany has not yet made any legal provisions about this. But, Germany gave the right of voting to the citizens of the EU countries who are not German citizens in 1992. As a result, the problem that the citizens of “third world countries”, which are not members of the EU, cannot participate in the elections of EU Parliament damages the social integration and the culture of living together.

Since 1992, citizens of the EU countries can vote in local elections in Germany; but the citizens of Turkish Republic still do not have any suffrage rights. Those people who have been living in Germany for more than fifty years and who pay their tax and insurance have been treated like third class. In Germany, the fourth generation got age to vote and stand for elections, dual citizenship became a right finally in July 2014. Before the law, immigrant youth, who have 18-23 ages, were forced to make a choice between the German citizenship and their home country’s citizenship. In other words, the immigrant youth, who were forced to choose only one citizenship, could not use dual citizenship right until 2014. With the law in July 2014; people born in Germany, over 21 and who lived at least for 8 years in Germany, who received at least 6 years education in Germany and the ones with a school or vocational diploma, have received the dual citizenship right. As the law did not cover all the foreigners backwards and did not give all those people residing in Germany a right to vote, we can say that the Germany’s minority policy has so many missing points. Therefore; the missing points of dual

citizenship, limited election rights for non citizens and other points have negative effects on socio-economic and political participation of the foreigners of which majority is the Turks. As the citizens of the EU have the right to settle and vote in any part of Europe; the Turks and citizens of other non-EU countries do not have those rights and this is a serious injustice and double standard.

Some racist, separatist implementations and policies in Western European countries shake the respect and trust of the immigrants to law, public institutions and constitution. People who could not use the public services and who could not find justice in the constitutional institutions become marginalized, introversive and fanaticized. For instance, the “conscience test” or “Muslim test” prepared for citizenship in Baden Württemberg state in Germany had very harsh reactions all over the world as it was considered as discriminative. This 30 questions length “conscience test” written by BW Ministry of Interior bureaucrat Rainer Grell was only implemented to the people coming from Muslim countries, which is highly controversial with basic human rights and equality before law. This citizenship test was implemented between 2006 and 2011 and then was lifted because of the nature of the questions.

The question *“Do you believe that your interests and rights are represented and protected in the country you are living?”* was replied by 13% (27 people) of the respondents as “I completely believe”, 62% (127 people) “I partially believe” and 25% (51 people) “I do not believe”. 55% (61 people) of Turks in Germany, 69% (38 people) of Turks in Belgium and 70% (28 people) of Turks in the Netherlands have answered as “I partially believe”. These rates indicate that civil rights are better protected in Belgium and the Netherlands when compared with Germany. As dual citizenship and suffrage rights were given to the foreigners in Belgium and the Netherlands, also Islam was accepted as an official religion in the Netherlands and Belgium; which brings these countries upfront comparing with Germany. As Islam does not have official membership and representatives as other religions do, German constitution does not accept it as an official religion. But the third largest group in Germany after the Catholics and the Protestants is the Muslim population. On the other hand, the Alevism, a different interpretation

of Islam, is recognized as a belief group in Germany and the Alevi students are allowed to take courses related with their belief. Even though Islam is not yet accepted as a religion, Sunni institutional organizations such as DITIB have been accepted as communities in Germany. Religious sects continue their efforts to have Islam as a lecture in private and state schools within different federal estates.

The replies given to the question “*Did you make any kind of personal appeal to local, regional or national parliaments of the country you are living in for your social and legal rights?*” were 21% (44 people) “Yes” and 79% (161 people) “No”. On the other hand, the replies given to the question “*Have you ever been involved in any kind of local/regional or national campaign against any law or execution concerning your political, social, personal belief or problems?*” was 26% (53 people) “Yes” and 74% (152 people) “No”. The number of respondents who had any kind of demands for their rights either individually or as a community from the government is almost one fifth of total respondents; and this indicates that Turks can freely demand their democratic rights individually and organizationally. In other words, Turks have increased their demands from local and national public institutions thereby became a group to be dealt with. Out of these 53 people (%26 of all respondents) who have been involved in a campaign due to their political, social, personal beliefs and problems or rights against any law or implementation are divided as follows: 23 people for religious right, 40 people for education right, 18 people for inequalities in employment and opportunities and 21 people for their political and legal rights. 32 people of the respondents have been active at local/state level, 43 people of them at national level and 8 of them at EU level (See Table 9).

Table 9. Individual and Collective Claims for Civil Rights in Local, National and EU Authorities

	Local Authorities (f)		Province Authorities (f)		National Authorities (f)		European Parliament (f)	
	Organize a Campaign	Go to Law	Organize a Campaign	Go to Law	Organize a Campaign	Go to Law	Organize a Campaign	Go to Law
Religious	8	-	6	-	8	-	1	-
Education	11	2	14	1	13	1	2	-
Employment or getting a profession	3	4	4	-	8	-	3	-
Political and legal rights	6	-	3	1	10	2	2	-
Sports	3	-	4	-	1	-	-	-
Others	1	3	1	1	3	2	-	-
Total	32	9	32	3	43	5	8	-

Replies to the question “Have you ever opened a lawsuit at national/local or national levels against a law or implementation because of your political, social or personal belief and problems or rights?” are 8% (16 people) “Yes” and 92% (189 people) “No” (See Table 9). The areas which Turks face with problems are education (44 people), political and civil rights (24 people), religion (23 people), and inequalities in employment and work opportunities (22 people). According to the report published by European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)⁵⁸ in 2009 as a result of the interviews conducted by immigrants in 27 European countries, many cases of discrimination and racism were not reported to the police

⁵⁸ EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – Main results Report 2009 by European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), at available http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/663-FRA-2011_EU_MIDIS_EN.pdf (21.05.2014).

(79% of the respondents did not report the problems they have faced). According to FRA, the reason why the victims did not report to the state institutions is that they do not know anything about the laws and regulations, and also their distrust to these institutions. According to this field research, Muslims consider religion as the main reason of the discrimination.

The majority of those who have demanded their rights from the relevant state institutions are from Germany, and this indicates that Germany is behind Belgium and the Netherlands in terms of civil rights. Most of the demands on collective and individual rights are about education, social services, employment and religious issues; which indicate that inequality of opportunities continue. Besides, the demands of Muslim religious groups and communities in Germany about mosque, minaret, prayer, funeral services, education in native language and headscarf is increasing. In some state schools in Germany, the ban on headscarf, lack of Islam courses in many states, girl-boy distinction in swimming courses increase the individual and collective demands for rights in these areas. In all three countries, individual and collective campaigns and lawsuits opened have paved the way for freedoms and civil rights in many states. For instance, the federal states of *North Rhine-Westphalia*, *Hesse* and *Lower Saxony* in Germany have provided the chance of Islamic religious courses to be taught.

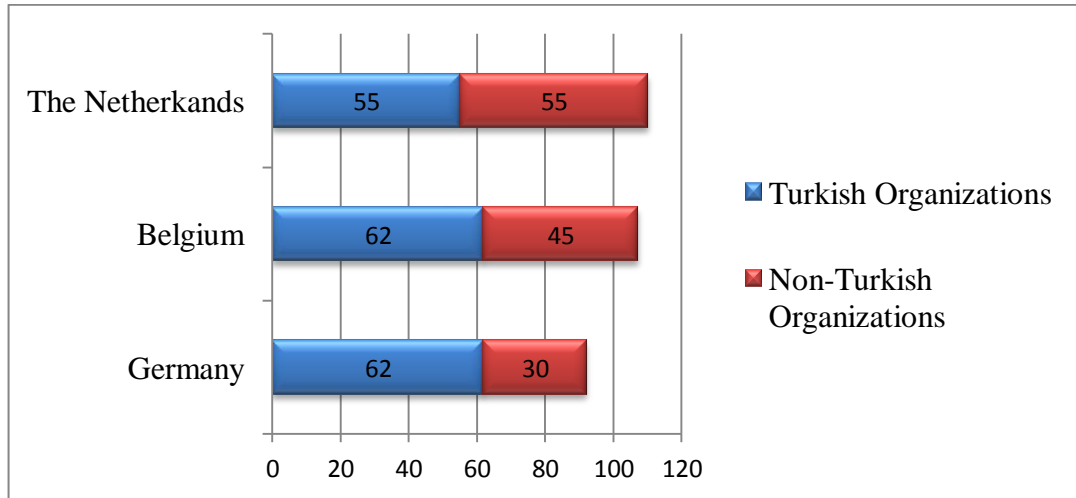
5.4. Social Integration and Life Satisfaction of the Turkish Immigrants in Europe

With international migrations in the last century, nation-states have turned to include many diverse cultures and people. Because of this, it has become a necessity to put “*diversities and differences*” to the forefront instead of “*similarity*” and to continue building social structures which would prevail those diversities (Vatandaş, 2002). Starting from this point, the “*human*” emphasis of Islam which is open to social diversity and social participation is very close to the emphasis of “*individual*” in democracy. Since 1980, Turkey has started to supplement the democratic process with a liberal and civil culture. As a result of this process, Islam in Turkey has started to be harmonized with the democracy and its institutions in case of Islamic groups. The Islamic groups in Turkey are the basic,

strongest and lively civil society organizations in the areas of education, academy, politics and economy both within and outside Turkey (Çaha, 1998). Therefore, Turks living in free and democratic societies of Europe today are giving the message of Islam towards tolerance, peace, plurality, justice and development through the civil society organizations.

In this section; the active/passive participation and membership of the Turkish respondents to associations, foundations, mosque associations, occupational entities, women organizations, human rights organizations, cultural and educational centers will be evaluated. Also, the social and cultural development of Turkish respondents was analyzed in accordance with generations, gender, age, socio-economic status, citizenship and country differences. First question was *“Are you a member of any, Turkish or non-Turkish, foundation in the country you are living?”* Without any country distinction approximately 60% (124 people) of all respondents said they are member to a Turkish association or foundation; whereas 39% (80 people) said they were members to a non-Turkish one. When we look at the countries, 62% (68 people) of the German Turks, 62% (34 people) of the Belgian Turks and 55% (22 people) of the Turks in the Netherlands have stated that they are members to a Turkey based association or foundation. Also, 30% (33 people) of the German Turks, 45% (25 people) of the Belgian Turks and 55% (22 people) of the Turks in the Netherlands have stated that they are members to a non-Turkey based association or foundation (See Figure 4). The data shows that Turks in Germany are more tended to connect with a Turkey based organization. But, the Turks from Belgium and the Netherlands have more relations and connections with non-Turkey based associations, foundations and civil society organizations.

Figure 4. Membership to the Turkish and Non-Turkish Organizations (%)



An important part of the Turks in the sample countries (60%/124 people) are participating in Turkey originated organizations and they are actively contributing. 67% (73 people) of the male respondents (109 people) have indicated that they are members to Turkey origin institutions, whereas 42% (46 people) said they were members of non-Turkish ones. 53% (51 people) of the female respondents (96 people) have indicated that they are members to Turkey origin institutions, whereas 35% (34 people) said they were members of non-Turkish ones. Male respondents are more interested in both Turkish and non-Turkish associations and foundations than the women. In traditional large families, reasons such as keeping the woman within the house and the inadequacy of language causes a low level of social life for women. But, the “independence” of Turkish woman which has increased in the last decade helped them to close the gap with the men. On the other hand, 55% (60 people) of the respondents aged 19-35 years (109 people) have indicated that they are members of an association or a foundation which is of Turkey origin, and 38% (41 people) of the respondents aged 19-35 years (109 people) have indicated that they are members to a non-Turkish one. On the contrary, 67% (55 people) of the respondents aged 36-50 years (82 people) have indicated that they are members of an association or a foundation which is of Turkey origin, and 40% (33 people) said that they were members to a non-Turkish one. About 61% (43 people) of the respondents graduated from a high school at most (71 people) had remarked that they are members of an association or a

foundation which is of Turkey origin and 23% (16 people) had remarked that they are members to a non-Turkish one. On the contrary, about %60 (81 people) of the respondents who have at least graduated from high school (134 people) said that they were members of an association or a foundation which is of Turkey origin, and 48% (64 people) said that they were members to a non-Turkish one.

In the following years of the migration, the ties with the homeland have been weakened due to generational changes and this caused the Turks to organize in ethnic and religious groups. The masses with low socio-economic and education levels have directed themselves to community associations, mosque associations, country organizations, aid organizations and political associations built on the Turkish/Kurdish nationalism (Kaya and Kentel, 2005). The Turkish society has achieved a lot in constructing their own identity and belonging world; and they have also built religious organizations to provide the spiritual and moral development of the young generations. Ethnic majority of the European Turkish society is consisted of Turks and Kurds, whereas they are mostly Sunni or the Alevi by religion. The Alevis have done a very strong organization throughout Europe and they work very hard to revive the Alevism belief and culture within generations. Kurds are one of the well organized minority groups in Europe and they are working hard to revive Kurdish culture and identity and teach Kurdish through associations and institutes. Also, some Kurds, who have migrated to Europe since 1980s because of oppression and denial, have started political organizations in order to keep the ethnic awareness alive in diaspora (Kaya and Uğurlu, 2014).

The membership rates in Figure 4 indicate that almost 1/3 of the Turks in Germany are not members to Turkey origin associations and foundations, and 2/3 are not members to non-Turkish organizations. 1/3 of the Turks in Belgium are not members to Turkey origin associations and foundations, and 1/2 is not members to non-Turkish organizations. Turks in the Netherlands are 1/2 not members of neither of those organizations. According to Kaya and Kentel (2005), there are some possible reasons for this situation. First, Turkey origin organizations have failed to solve or lighten the problems. Second, Islamic

holdings which have collected huge amounts of cash from Turks in Europe with the promise of “high profit” were corrupted. Even though some of these Islamic holdings were positive and did investments for employment, another part that exploited has seriously harmed the religious institutions that helped them. Third, certain parts of the society try to stay away from membership to some religious and social organizations that teach students and operate aid institutions. These parts of the society do not want to have the burden of any material cost through membership, so they are acting closer to political party associations which are Turkey origin. In other words, this proximity helps them to gain a wide social network, and it does not bring any kind of material responsibility and liability to them. Fourth, the self-centered understanding of the European culture has affected the Turkish society. Self-centered understanding denies any attachment to religious, political and ideological groups. One of the sociological results of globalization is the diversifying social structures under the effect of self-centered culture and civil society organizations (Çaha, 2002). The people and masses affected by the reasons mentioned above do not show any interest on Turkey origin organizations and do not take any responsibility.

The most obvious reason of low level of participation to non-Turkish civil society organization is because such a membership is perceived as structural assimilation/integration. Structural assimilation is one of the seven (7) different assimilation/integration models set forth by Gordon (1964:71); and it appears with the membership or participation of the minorities to the associations and organizations of the host society (cited by Kaya and Kentel, 2005). In other words, organizations such as socio-cultural and church associations of which the activity agenda is on the adaptation and assimilation of minorities, have taken special and structural responsibilities in European societies. Therefore participation and membership to these non-Turkish organizations is considered as a tool of structural assimilation by vast society and is not favored. Another reason of this is the lack of information about the possible benefits or harms of this membership. Also, the strong ties with the homeland has developed an introversive and closed life style within the masses with inadequate educational and linguistic skills.

Table 10. Classifications of Turkish and Non-Turkish Organizations

	Turkish Organizations (f)			Non-Turkish Organizations (f)		
	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands
Environmentalist Organization	10	5	1	7	10	6
Religious Organization	39	15	11	1	1	1
Educational Organization	42	20	7	13	11	9
Women Organization	6	7	3	1	4	2
Professional Organization	12	4	1	8	11	7
Culture and Arts Organization	24	15	8	7	8	7
Political Organization	9	5	3	9	6	5
Social Organization	17	11	4	9	12	8
Sports Organization	10	5	2	11	6	5
Others	5	5	3	4	2	-

Data on Table 10 are acquired from the answers given to the question: “*In which areas do the association/associations of which you are members of, whether Turkish or non-Turkish give services?*”. Considering the country differences, among the respondents who are the members of Turkey based associations; 52% (65 people) are faith-based, 56% (69 people) are education based, 38% (47 people) are culture and art based and 26% (32 people) are social based associations. The respondents from Germany are members of associations dealing with education (42 people), religion (39 people) and culture and arts (24 people). In Belgium, most of the interest is on education (20 people) and culture/art (15 people); and in the Netherlands these are religion (11 people) and culture/art (8 people). On the other hand, 41% (33 people) of the respondents who are members to non-Turkish associations are members of organizations dealing with education, 36% (29

people) social based and 33% (26 people) occupational ones. The Turkish workers have at first organized around “workers’ unions”; but after the September 12 (1980) military coup, they have experienced a new organizational process with the introduction of distinctive religious, political and ideological movements. In the following years of migration, the Turkish society has organized in different areas such as employer and occupational organizations, countrymen associations, aid associations and lobby associations. The Turkish civil society organization in Europe is a projection of the political groups, religious and civil communities and ethnic/ideological movements in Turkey and they have started to distinguish themselves with daycares, private schools, private universities, culture and dialogue centers and media and aid organizations. The European civil society organizations are products of diversities in Turkey and they contribute a lot to social and political participation, integration and intercultural dialogue.

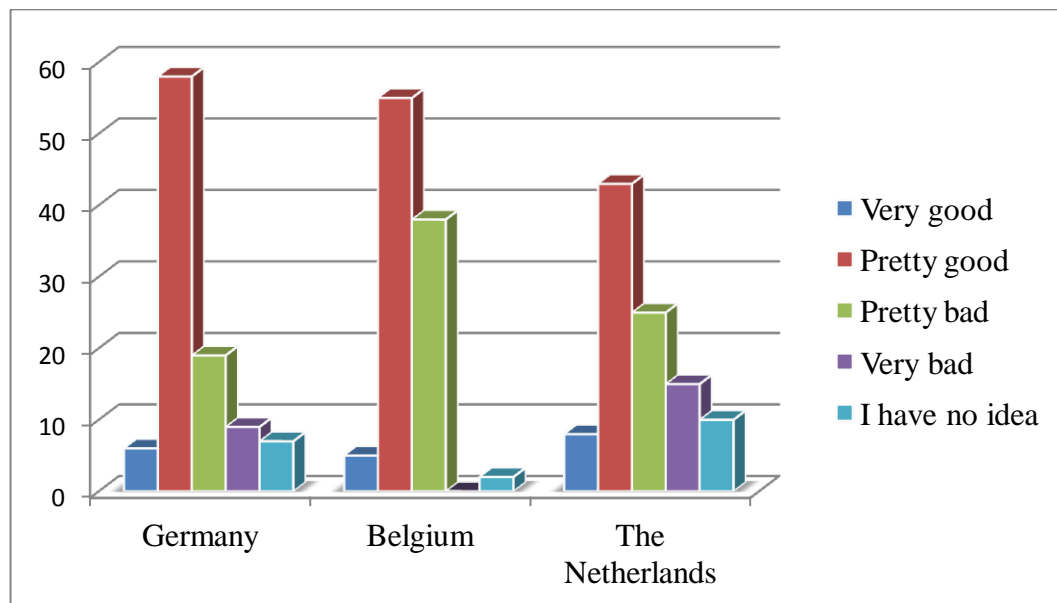
Table 11. Activities of the Respondents into Daily Life Out of Work/School

	Generally (f)			Sometimes (f)			Rarely (f)			Never (f)		
	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands
I spent time with my family	85	44	34	17	8	5	5	3	1	3	-	-
I spent time with Turkish friends and neighbors	34	24	20	63	26	16	13	5	3	-	-	1
I spent time with German/Belgian/Dutch friends	9	10	8	43	25	14	29	9	12	29	11	6
Others	3	4	1	8	2	1	3	3	1	2	-	1

Inter group and external social relations of Turkish respondents are considered comparatively on Table 11. According to this, 80% (163 people) of all the respondents have said that they “generally” spend time with their own family. 51%

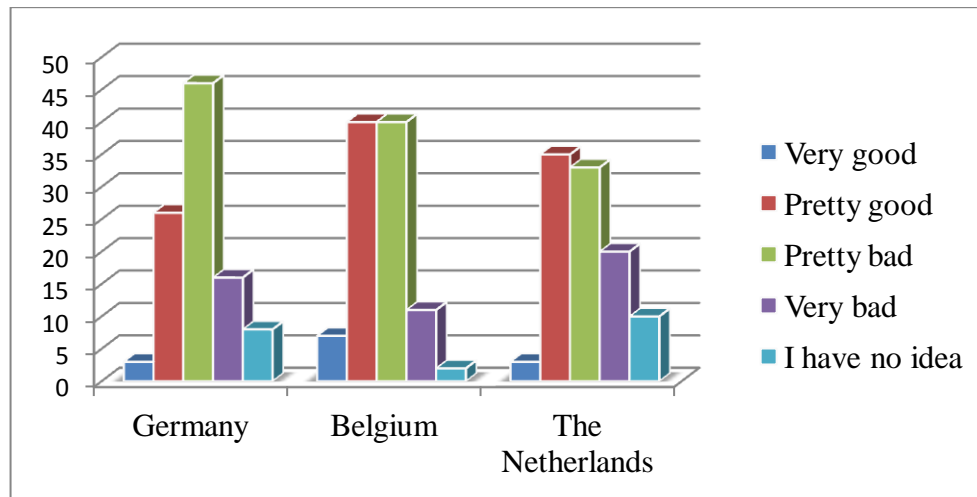
(105 people) of all respondents said that they “sometimes” hangout with Turkish friends and neighbors, whereas 40% (65 people) said that they spend time with their German/Belgian/Dutch friends and neighbors. Turks in Belgium (45%/25 people), Turks in Germany (39%/43 people) and Turks in the Netherlands (35%/14 people) said that they are having close relations with the majority. Also, as the average age of the respondents decrease, the social relations network expands from the family to the periphery; and as the age average increases, the social relations network narrows from periphery to center. Another important detail here is that the Turks living in Belgium and the Netherlands organize their individual and organizational activities open to the participation of the majority. Generally, Turks in Germany are organizing such activities more introversive, based on family, relatives, community and countrymen, and as closed to the participation of the majority. The numerical data about the respondents indicate that the Turks living in Western European countries have generally socialized and harmonized with the external groups thanks to their relations with intra groups and external groups. We can also say that the Turkish society as a part of the European societies has learned the urban culture and norms of the Western countries and started to accomplish the duties and liabilities of a citizen.

Figure 5. Satisfaction about General Policies of the Governments (%)



Data in Figure 5 and Figure 6 measures the satisfaction of the respondents from the general and minority based policies of the governments also indicate the life satisfaction of migrants of Turkish origin. According to this, 6% (13 people) of all respondents consider the general policies of governments as ‘very good’, 54% (111 people) as ‘good’, 25% (52 people) as ‘bad’ and 8% (16 people) as ‘very bad’. Also about 4% (8 people) of all respondents consider the minority policies of the governments as ‘very good’, 32% (65 people) as ‘good’, 42% (86 people) as ‘bad’ and 16% (32 people) as ‘very bad’.

Figure 6. Satisfaction about Immigrant Policies of the Governments (%)



58% (64 people) of the Turkish respondents in Germany consider the general policies of German governments as “good” and 19% (21 people) consider them as “bad”. On the other hand, 26% (29 people) of the Turkish respondents in Germany consider the minority policies of German governments as “good” and 46% (51 people) as “bad”. 55% (30 people) of the Turkish respondents in Belgium consider the general policies of the Belgian government as “good” and the 40% (22 people) consider the minority policies as “good”; 38% (21 people) consider the general policies of the Belgian government as “bad” and 40% (22 people) consider the minority policies as “bad”. 43% (17 people) of the Turks in the Netherlands consider the general policies of the Dutch government as “good” and the 35% (14 people) consider the minority policies as “good”; 25% (10 people) consider the general policies of the Dutch government as “bad” and 33% (13 people) consider the minority policies as “bad” (See Figure 5 and 6). Turks in

Germany are more satisfied with the general policies of German government compared with the Turks in Belgium and the Netherlands. But, their satisfaction from the minority policies of the government is lower than the Turks in Belgium and the Netherlands. One of the most important reasons of this is that Germany does not give the right of democratic differences to survive with democratic standards. The traditional and conservative German politics has a traditional and assimilative approach towards integration and immigrants. The lacks of dual citizenship right until mid 2014, hardening the citizenship rights to Turks and expectations of harmony only from foreigners are the policies that Turks are most discontent of.

Table 12. Rising Standards of Living, Public Service Standards and Social Tolerance

	Very adequate (f)			Adequate (f)			Inadequate (f)			Very inadequate (f)		
	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands
In terms of job opportunities	10	5	3	60	26	17	36	21	17	4	3	3
In terms of the functioning of the legal system	23	5	8	64	34	20	18	13	11	5	3	1
In terms of individual and social tolerance	4	11	2	37	21	20	52	21	16	17	2	2
In terms of respect to social rules	23	18	10	62	28	17	21	9	11	4	-	2
In terms of moral values	-	6	2	23	23	11	47	21	15	40	5	12
In terms of respect to religious/cultural differences	6	6	3	35	27	12	50	19	20	19	3	5
In terms of attitude of security forces	8	9	1	71	28	22	26	15	14	5	3	3
In terms of basic human rights	6	9	3	43	27	21	47	15	14	14	4	2

The respondents were asked to classify the sufficiency of living standards, social tolerance and public services of the countries they are living in. According to this, 36% (74 people) of all the respondents have said that the countries they live in is “*inadequate*” in terms of job opportunities. 43% (89 people) of all respondents consider their country as “*inadequate*” in terms of individual and social tolerance; whereas 38% (78 people) consider as “*adequate*”. When the public services of these sample countries are being evaluated, variables such as the execution of the legal system, attitude of the security forces and implementation of basic human rights were taken into consideration. According to this, 58% of the Turks in Germany (64 people), 62% (34 people) in Belgium and 50% (20 people) in the Netherlands evaluate the functioning of legal system in their countries as “*adequate*”. Also, 65% (71 people) in Germany have considered the attitude of the security forces as “*adequate*”; more than the Belgium (51%) and the Netherlands (55%). In terms of respect to human rights in the public services; 39% (43 people) of the Turkish respondents in Germany evaluate as “*adequate*”; but 43% (47 people) of the Turkish respondents in Germany as “*inadequate*”. In terms of respect to human rights in the public services; 49% (27 people) of the Turks in Belgium evaluate as “*adequate*”; but 27% (15 people) of the Turks in Belgium evaluate as “*inadequate*”. In terms of respect to human rights in the public services; 53% (21 people) of the Turks in the Netherlands evaluate as “*adequate*”; but 35% (14 people) of the Turks in the Netherlands evaluate as “*inadequate*” (See Table 12).

“*Most adequate*” country in terms of respect to social rules was Germany with 56% (62 people); the most inadequate countries in terms of moral values were Germany with 43% (47 people) and Belgium with 38% (21 people). Equal access to job opportunities, equality before law, justice of the law makers, easy access to public services, efficient communication with citizens, right of information, responsibility to public and sensitivity are the main determinants for the development of a tolerant environment. More efficient and productive public services of the governments in Western democracies are mostly shaped by the reactions of minorities as well. Especially the participant, creative and productive social identity of the ethnic/religious new generations is correlated with the

characteristic of local and national policies open to feedback and communication. According to the data, the top of public service demands by the Turks in Europe are abolishing the inequalities in job opportunities, creating necessary employment areas, disseminating the freedoms and increasing the life quality. Therefore, public services and rights that increase the life standard, quality and satisfaction of the immigrants play an important function in protecting their rights and their social integration.

Two important variables were taken into consideration to understand the efficiency of sample countries' societies in terms of pluralism and culture of living together. One of the variables chosen for this purpose is "*individual/social tolerance*" towards the foreigners and the second one is "*respect to religious/cultural differences*". According to this, 47% (52 people) in Germany, 38% (21 people) in Belgium and 40% (16 people) in the Netherlands have considered their countries as "*inadequate*" in terms of individual/social tolerance. In terms of respect to religious/cultural differences, which is one of the most important requirements to live together in pluralist societies, 32% (35 people) in Germany, 49% (27 people) in Belgium and 30% (12 people) from the Netherlands have considered their countries as adequate (See Table 12). The comparative data indicates that the expectations of Turks from host societies are individual and social respect, not otherizing them and showing them respect. When we look at the differences from the country level, we can understand that the Turks in Germany have more expectations than the Turks in other countries in terms of individual and social tolerance and respect to differences. One of the main reasons of this is that Germany is not considered as tolerant and respectful s other two countries to multiculturalism and diversity. Another reason is that the Turks were very much affected from the xenophobia and racism in Germany after September 11.

Another implementation that makes intercultural integration and tolerance possible is the execution of public services and policies with respect to the traditions, culture and life style of ethnic and religious minorities. For instance, the success or failure of the Europe in its test with the "other" inside completely

complies with the acceptance of diversity and life style of the “other”. According to famous Turkish sociologist Nilüfer Göle (2010: 177-178), there are two important public arguments which are determinant in the relation of Europe with the Muslim “other”. One of these public debates that crystallize the problem of existence of Islam in Europe is the headscarf problem of the Muslim girls, and the other one is the debate on Turkey’s place in Europe. These two public debates cause the questioning of European identity and universalism and their boundaries, and they test the ability of Europe to cope with the Muslim “other”.

Table 13. How important are public and civil institutions in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands to you?

Public and Civil Institutions	Very important (f)	Important (f)	Less important (f)	Not important (f)
National Parliaments	109	76	16	4
Courts	103	78	17	7
Municipalities	96	93	10	6
Political parties	43	101	50	11
Elections	66	97	32	10
The European Union	73	96	19	17
European Court of Human Rights	106	63	26	10
Non-governmental organizations	103	82	19	1

Turks have developed rational relations with the institutional structures of the countries they are in, e.g. the political and constitutional institutions and health and security system. The data on Table 13 that aims to understand the positive and negative views of the Turks in Europe on constitutional institutions of the countries where they reside, on European Union and on civil society organizations is another indicator of socialization and integration. According to this, 53% (109 people) of the respondents consider the national parliaments, 50% (103 people) the courts and 52% (106 people), the European Court of Human Rights as the

“very important” institutions. 50% (103 people) of the Turkish respondents consider the civil society organizations as “very important” and the contribution of these organizations to socialization and participation of the European Turkish society is now better understood.

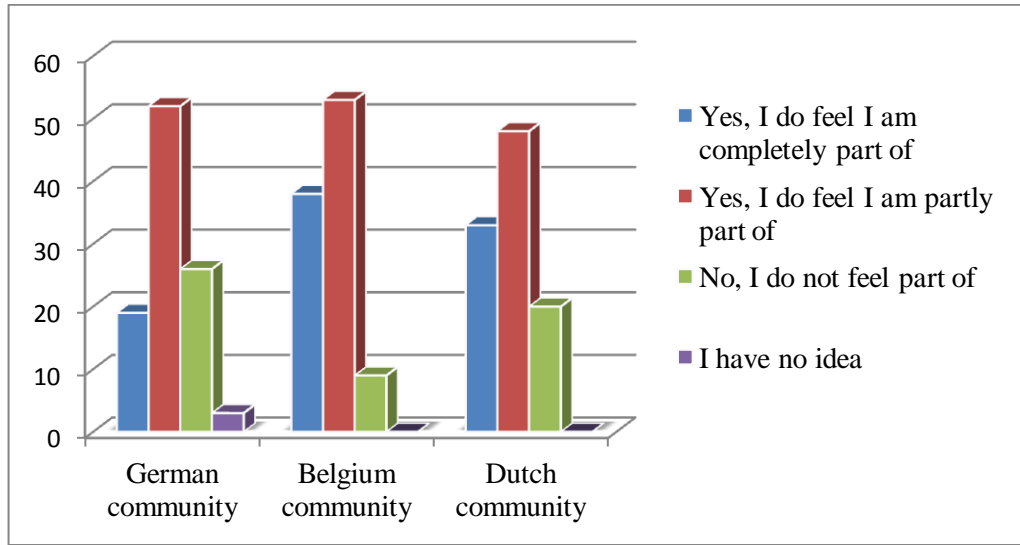
On the other hand, 24% (50 people) of the respondents consider the political parties as “less important” due to several reasons. Main reason of the negative perception of political parties is the existence of conservative and extreme right parties that use Islamophobia and xenophobia as a populist tool and thereby gain votes from wrong fears. On the other hand, Turkey, which has been accepted as a candidate country in 1999, has been put off by the European Union and this caused a lack of trust within the European Turkish society. Instead of all these problems, 47% (96 people) of the respondents consider European Union as “important”. It is a fact that the Turks in Europe support the EU membership of Turkey more than the public opinion within Turkey. A reason of this support is the perception that the European Union membership of Turkey, which is a soft power between the Muslim Eastern societies and the Christian Western societies, will strengthen the dialogue between the West and the Islamic world. Another reason is that the Turks, who have been excluded as “other” in terms of their ethnic and religious belongings, believe that Turkey’s EU membership will help them to struggle with the dominant culture.

The answers to the question “Are you happy of being and living in the country where you reside at?” are 72% (147 people) “Yes” and 28% (58 people) “No”. Also 70% (77 people) of Turks in Germany, 78% (43 people) of Turks in Belgium and 68% (27 people) of Turks in the Netherlands have said that they were happy to live in the countries they reside. On the other hand, 75% (75 people) of the respondents who have said that they have a maximum of 2.000 Euros as income are happy to live where they are, so does 83% (35 people) of the respondents who earn more than 2.000 Euros a month. Thus, in general life satisfaction and quality of the minorities increase or decrease depending on a few factors. Factors, such as inequality in opportunity, unemployment and discrimination towards ethnic and religious minorities in the West, are one of the reasons that reduce migrant’s life

satisfaction. The inflationist pressure by Euro which is higher than the old monetary units and the economic stagnancy after 2008 economic crisis cause great concern on the majority of Turks in Europe. As the capital investments and savings have started to be directed to Turkey and as the reverse migration to homeland has increased, we can call those as reflections of that concern.

The socio-economic concerns of generations born and educated in Western Europe are lower than the first generations. 75% (82 people) of the respondents aged 19-35 years are happy to live in the country they live; but this number is about 66% (54 people) among the people aged 36-50 years. About 65% (46 people) of the respondents who have completed high school at most (71 people) say that they are happy in the countries they live in, this satisfaction rate is %75 (101 people) for the respondents who have completed high school at least (134 people). Young generations have hopes about the future, but there is also a tendency of discontent from the system along with dissatisfaction which is the result of inequality in opportunities. On the other hand, the socio-cultural and religious islands and the traditional solidarity networks developed by Turks as a response to assimilation within the dominant culture where they live in, have caused a life quality and satisfaction within their own group borders. According to Benmayor and Skotnes (1994); immigrant groups who want to protect their diverse cultural identities and values within the dominant culture establish social solidarity networks such as associations, schools and religious places, thereby trying to keep their cultures and belief alive. The first thing that can be seen in the people whom the interview was conducted with is that the self-sufficiency and thanking to God for whatever they had. Concept of “*thanking*” in the Islam which is necessary for the moral development of the people can restore the social health and psychology of conservative and religious groups to cope with the problems. The group belonging, consciousness of ethnicity and socio-economic status of Turks in Europe which they own according to their ethnic and religious identity, are some of the factors that increase the life satisfaction.

Figure 7. Do you feel like a part of the country you are living in?

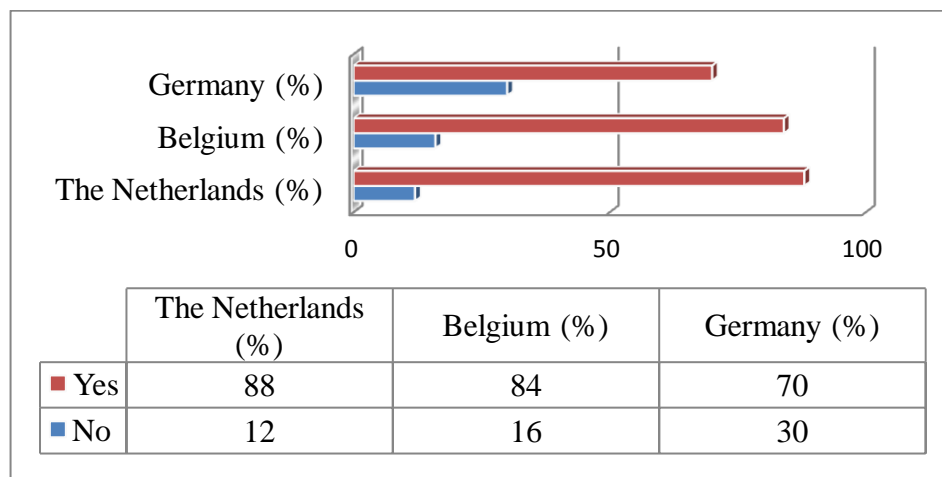


In parallel with inter-generational developments and the enhancement of the education level; socialization and organization developed and transformed, thereby making the minority groups an active part and shareholder of the host societies. Answers given to the question of “*Do you feel like a part of the country you are living in?*” were 27% (55 people) “*I completely do*”, 51% (105 people) “*I partially do*” and 21% (42 people) “*I don’t*”. When country differences are considered, 19% of the Turks in Germany (21 people), 38% of the Turks in Belgium (21 people) and 33% of Turks in the Netherlands (13 people) completely consider themselves as a part of the society they are living in. On the other hand, 26% of Turks in Germany (29 people), 9% of Turks in Belgium (5 people) and 20% of Turks in the Netherlands (8 people) have mentioned that they are not a part of the society they are living in (See Figure 7). One of the widely used elements in democracy to integrate the minority groups with the public system and to make them a part of the host society is the right of citizenship. But in Germany, to become a German citizen, the condition of leaving the citizenship of the origin country has been put. In spite of the demands that have been going on for years, Germany has only signed the dual citizenship law for non-EU foreigners in July 2014. The citizens of Belgium and Dutch who are Turks in origin are numerically double than Turkish-German citizens confirm the data above. In the Netherlands the foreigners, by using the right of “*urban citizenship*”, have the right to be

elected and elect other candidates in the city elections, without becoming a part of the Dutch national unity (Benhabib, 2004: 157-162). Therefore, the foreigners in the Netherlands have better representation rights comparing with the foreigners in other countries. Even this situation itself encourages the third world country citizens living in the Netherlands both as a voter and as active participants in politics.

When analyzing the data from the respondents, important results are reached when the differences between generations is considered. For instance, 39% (28 people) of the respondents who were born in Germany, Belgium or the Netherlands see themselves as a complete part of the countries they live in (71 people), whereas only 20% (27 people) of the respondents who were born in Turkey have the same perception (134 people). These results indicate that the first generation of Turks in Europe feel themselves closer to their homeland where they were born and spent their childhood or youth. Second and third generations, on the other hand, have an equal stance towards their homeland and to the countries where they live, taught and work. But especially the young generations feel themselves closer to the Western countries where they were born, grown up and reside. One of the main reasons of the success of young generations born and educated in Western European countries at social and economic life and local/national politics is the feeling o belonging.

Figure 8. Do you think that you have adapted to the country where you are living in?

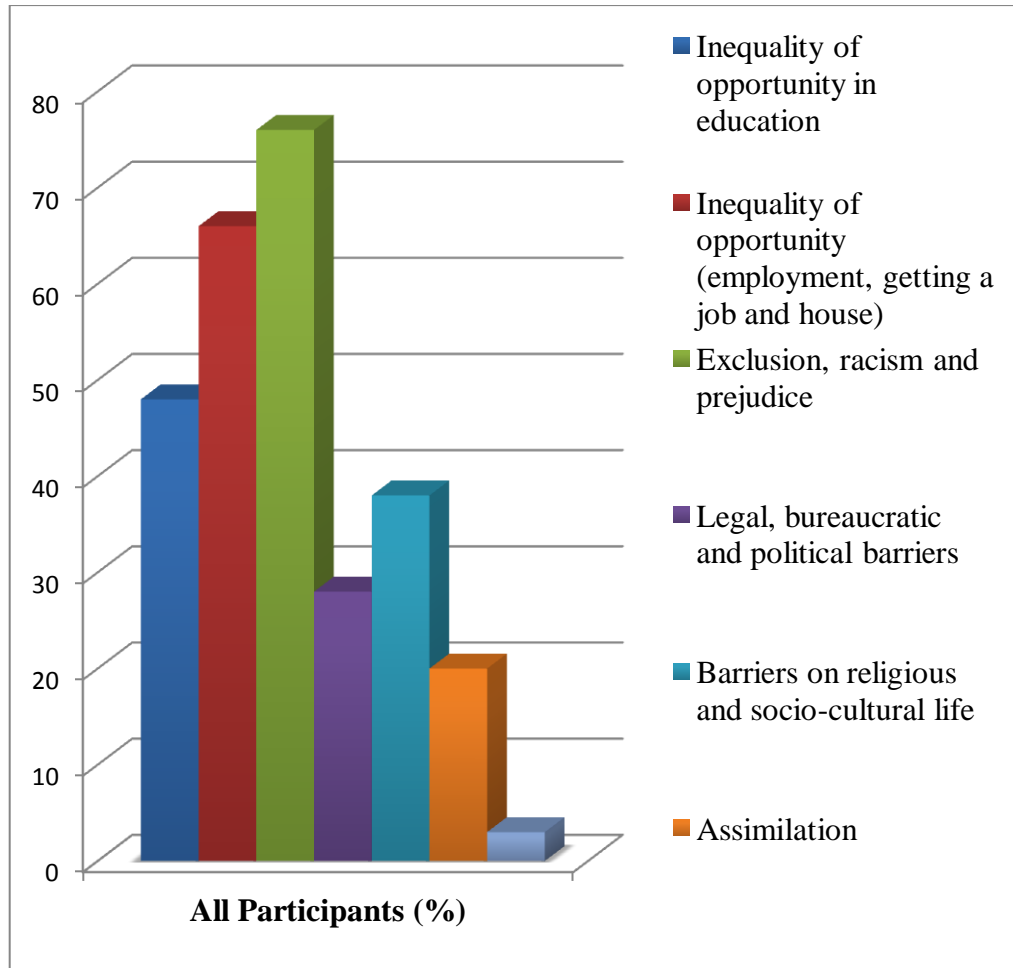


The answers given to the question by all respondents “*Do you think that you have adapted to the country where you are living in?*” are 77% (158 people) “Yes” and 23% (47 people) “No”. When the differences among countries are considered, 70% of Turks in Germany (77 people), 84% of Turks in Belgium (46 people) and 88% of Turks in the Netherlands (35 people) have said that they have adapted to the country they are living at (See Figure 8). Also about 72% (79 people) of the male respondents (109 people) think that they have adapted to the countries they are living in, this number is 82% (79 people) among the female respondents (96 people). On the other hand, 70% (94 people) of the respondents who were born in Turkey believe that they have adapted to the society where they are living in (134 people), this rate is 90% (64 people) for the respondents who were born in Germany/Belgium/the Netherlands (71 people). In addition, about 69% (49 people) of the respondents graduated from a high school at most think that they have adapted to the country where they live in (71 people), this rate is 81% (109 people) for the respondents who have graduated from high school at least (134 people).

In the process of international migration, the interaction and harmony of the receiving and sending countries is important. Even though assimilation in itself includes an adaptation, it is closer to the inconsistency in pluralist democracies. In the following years of migration, the weakening of the ties with the origin country causes the valued norms and concepts by time become more obvious. The European Turkish society could reproduce and generally protect their own ethnic and cultural differences, and they could so far resist assimilation and getting lost within the dominant culture. Generations who were born and grown in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands have been adapted better than those who came later through family reunion, employment and education. Therefore, comparing the countries they are living in with their homeland with standards such as democracy, social services, education, employment, life quality and satisfaction; Turks in Europe generally think that they have generally adapted with the European societies of which they were born and educated. As the Turks in the Netherlands and Belgium are more willing in socio-economic and political participation and representation than those Turks in Germany, social cohesion in those countries was easier. Also, another reason of their efforts of integration is that the Turks

living in Belgium and the Netherlands are way forward than the Turks in Germany in terms of citizenship, civil society, Turkey's EU membership and culture of coexistence.

Figure 9. The Basic Problems of Integration of the Turkish Immigrants (%)



In this section of our field study, some major factors such as the social harmony and life satisfaction/quality of the Turks living in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands have been analyzed. But, some problems and difficulties that prevent social harmony and life quality/satisfaction are always there at every process of adaptation process for the minority groups. The answers given to the question “*What are the most important three problems you face in the countries you are living in because of your foreignness?*” give us some important hints about the problems that still continue after fifty years of migration. According to this, 76% (155 people) of the all respondents consider exclusion, racism and prejudice as the

problem faced the most. On the contrary 66% (136 people) of the respondents consider the inequality of opportunities in the fields such as finding a job, getting an occupation and buying a house as the second biggest problem. 48% (98 people) of all the respondents consider the inequalities and discriminations in education as the third biggest problem. Problems under the headline “*Barriers on religious and socio-cultural life*” are considered as a problem by 38% (78 people) of the all respondents. Problems under the headline “*Legal, bureaucratic and political barriers*” are considered as a problem by 28% (58 people) of the respondents. Assimilation is considered as a problem for adaptation by 20% (42 people) of the respondents (See Figure 9). On the other hand, majority of the people who faced problems in exclusion, racism and prejudice were the Turks in Germany. French politics with its assimilation based Republican politics and the German politics with traditional conservative policies that do not respect the diversities have caused the outbreak of an introversive, defensive, nationalist, traditionalist and reactive group among the non-EU minorities.

The main problems of the Turkish immigrants face in Western European countries because of their foreignness are isolation politics, unemployment policies as a result of economic crises, discriminative statements of right populism, historical prejudices, social and cultural exclusion, extreme and aggressive nationalism, discriminations in education, unequal opportunities in occupation and housing and legal/bureaucratic barriers. Cultural differences brought by immigrants and Islam itself are the targets of negative reactions in Europe towards the existence of Muslim immigrants. Racism has appeared with a new version since the Second World War, and it shows up as “social/cultural exclusion” today. Islam is considered as a threat to liberal and socialist ideologies that belong to West; and is also represented as a religion that cannot agree with Western civilization and legal norms (Haleber, 2005: 202-203). Therefore, today we see that the ethnic, religious and national sensitivities both in Muslim countries and in the West have become the source of a possible political polarization and conflict. But, religion and ethnicity, which are considered as elements of conflict are also one of the most important tools that provide the grounds for the protection of religious, cultural and ethnic identities and differences. Ethnic and religious differences are also the

sources of diversity and cultural richness; and a respondent's opinions give us important hints about coexistence:

'... The most important thing to get rid of the prejudices is people with different ethnicities living together. In the Netherlands, regions where racist parties have received the highest votes are the places where there are not so many or no foreigners. People are afraid of others they don't know....We are teaching Europe "the other", the different. Europe meets different cultures on its soil. That is the reason of the problems, but in the long-term everything goes well. If there is no accident such as the World War II, Europe will come out of this process as stronger and maybe will have multiculturalism as its most important advantage against China (This is the advantage of USA to Europe until today.' (Male, aged 19-35 years, the Netherlands).

Other problems of the Turkish respondents as foreigner in the host countries are lack of mutual dialogue, ban of headscarf in schools and official institutions, hostility to Islam, not having Turkish as an elective course at schools, lack of participation and representation, humiliation and rejection of cultural differences. Different versions and images of Islam in Europe are being discussed at public opinion through media and thereby considered as political and administrative problems. For instance, laws about security, ban of religious symbols in public schools and the arguments of referendum on European Constitution are indicators that Islam is passing to political area from the public sphere. Public sphere is the area where the paths of Muslims and host societies converge; and it is the place where Muslim existence shows itself and where the European public opinion argues in its collective subconscious. Therefore, one of the issues wondered today is not the recognition of Islamic diversity; but whether there is a force that could bring the parties together on a common ground or not. Does Europe define itself as an identity or as a project? The rejection of the European Constitution, emphasis on national identity, heritage of the past and the test of democracy with the "other" are all indicators that Europe is now in a process of lag (Göle, 2010: 27-38). Today, Islam is not recognized as a religion in many EU countries and this is one of the most important barriers in front of Muslim minorities to take advantage of many legal rights.

On the other hand, xenophobia and Islamophobia in the lower social classes of Western societies have caused an extreme and fanatic nationalism and a potential racism. Racism is an ideology that predicts discrimination on race and argues that there are superior and inferior races on the earth. The most important issue all racist and fascist groups have in common is xenophobia in Europe. According to rightist and racist political parties, the existence of foreigners threatens the national identity and local culture. According to populist politicians, foreigners are in the roots of many problems such as abuse of housing, education and social opportunities and cultural dissolution. Racism and xenophobia threatens social peace and order in Europe today, and it has increased especially after September 11. Mosques, cultural centers, educational institutions and houses that belong to Muslim minorities had been targeted and sabotaged after the September 11 (2001), Madrid (2004) and London (2005) terrorist attacks. According to the report of *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)*⁵⁹ from 15 member countries; there has been a relative less physical violence towards Muslims in Europe after September 11, but an increase in verbal attacks and harassments. According to the report of EUMC, especially the women with headscarves have been targets of verbal attacks and harassments (Canatan, 2007: 31-32). On the other hand, after the murder of Theo Van Gogh in the Netherlands by a radical Islamist (2004), there have been physical attacks to some religious schools and mosques belong to Muslims in the Netherlands. On the other hand, in a report published by *European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)*⁶⁰ in February 2014 on Germany, it has been emphasized that the tendency to racist ideas and extreme rightist institutions among the German policemen was very high. The report has emphasized that struggle with racism was not good enough and that “secret racism” has become widespread in the country. The report has also emphasized that the book “*How Germany Abolishes Itself*” written by

⁵⁹ Allen, Christofher and Nielsen, Jorgen S. ‘*Summary Report on Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001*’, (May 2002), EUMC. For more information the summary report, please see; http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/199-Synthesis-report_en.pdf (12.12.2013).

⁶⁰ For more information about the report, please see; <http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Germany/DEU-CbC-V-2014-002-ENG.pdf> (19.05.2014).

Thilo Sarrazin, *the German Federal Bank* former executive and *the Social Democratic Party (SPD)* member and that some parts of this book were mentioned by *Bild-Zeitung* and *Spiegel*. These kind of emerging developments were emphasized as “threatening” in the ECRI report.

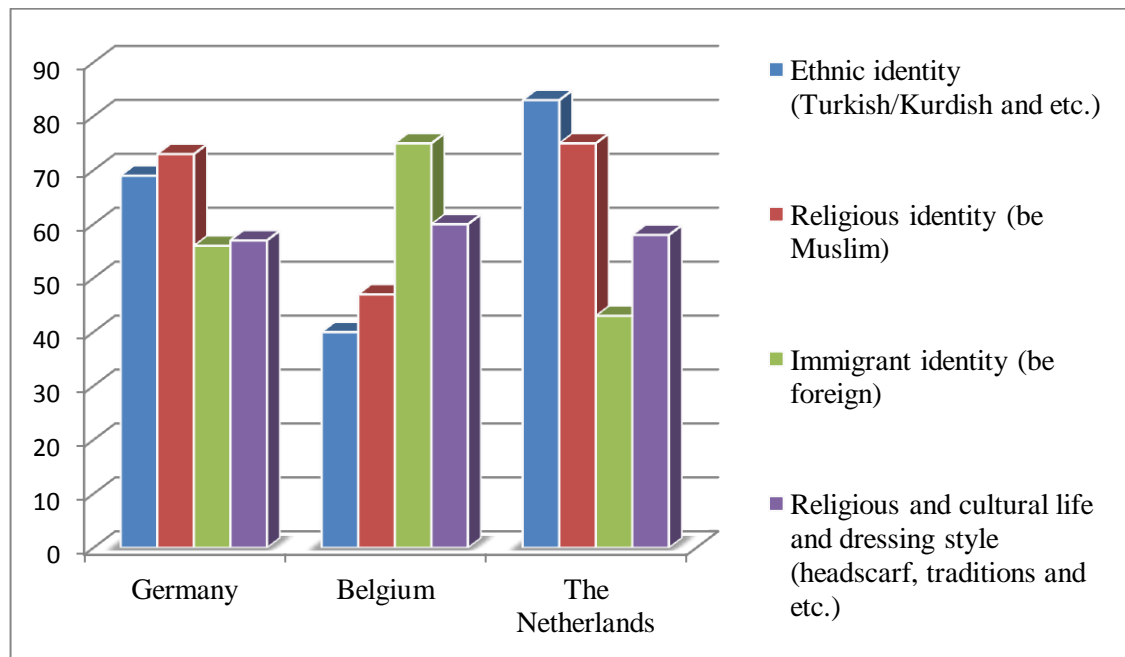
The prejudice and mostly wrong perceptions of Muslims in the West is the most important factor that lies in the ground of problems Muslims face. Several different resources such as scientific studies, media news, movies, and think-tank reports have an important place in dissemination of prejudices and wrong information (Yanarışık, 2013: 2911). In the report of European Council ‘*Living Together – Combining Diversity and Freedom in 21st - Century Europe*’ published in 2011, it has been advised to develop a comprehensive EU policy to struggle with discrimination, racism and xenophobia. According to another report ‘*Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia*’ of *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)*⁶¹ published in 2006; many Muslims have been discriminated in European countries in terms of employment, education and housing. The report has also emphasized that Muslims have been exposed to several Islamophobia actions from verbal threats to physical attacks. On the other hand, according to the results of the survey *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS)*⁶² of *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)* which is published in 2009, people who have citizenship and who have been residing for a longer period in the country are exposed less to discrimination. According to the report 41% of the male respondents with no citizenship are being discriminated, and this rate is 27% for Muslim male respondents with a citizenship. Even though the Muslims were born and grown in European countries, they are still being exposed to discrimination in areas such as education, employment and getting property. To

⁶¹ For more information about the EUMC Report, please see; http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/156-Manifestations_EN.pdf (10.05.2014).

⁶² EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – Main results Report 2009 by European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), at available http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/663-FRA-2011_EU_MIDIS_EN.pdf (21.05.2014).

help the young generations cope with the disadvantages, they have to have equal access to housing, employment, education and health services (Akdemir, 2009).

Figure 10. Which identity/cultural difference do you think is the reason of double standards, discriminative attitude, behavior and policies in the society you are living?



The answers given to the question “Which identity/cultural difference do you think is the reason of double standards, discriminative attitude, behaviour and policies in the society you are living?” were 69% (76 people) by Turks in Germany, 40% (22 people) by Turks in Belgium and 83% (33 people) by Turks in the Netherlands was “ethnic identity”. The rate of people who think that problems Turks face in the societies they are living are because of their religious identities is 73% (80 people) by Turks in Germany, 47% (26 people) by Turks in Belgium and 75% (30 people) by Turks in the Netherlands. The rate of people who think that the problems are because of immigrant identity is 56% (62 people) by Turks in Germany, 75% (41 people) by Turks in Belgium and 43% (17 people) by Turks in the Netherlands. The rate of people who think that the problems are there because of religious and cultural life style and dress code of Turks is 57% (63 people) by Turks in Germany, 60% (33 people) by Turks in Belgium and 58% (23 people) by Turks in the Netherlands. When the differences among countries are

not considered, 64% (131 people) of all respondents think that problems are because of ethnic identity, 66% (136 people) religious identity, 59% (120 people) foreigner/immigrant identity and 58% (119 people) religious and cultural life style and dress style (See Figure 10).

In the first years of migration to Europe Muslims were also considered as “*guest workers*” and they were defined by their ethnic and national roots. But in the following years, as wives and children have joined, Muslim workers have turned into a social group. In the relations of Muslims as a social group and the host societies, religious and cultural dimensions became important. As the developments in the Islamic world were reflected in the Europe and as unemployment has continuously increased; the perception of the Muslims in Europe in popular culture was changed. This negative perception gives us the hints of an understanding named Islamophobia. Today, we can see a tendency of developing an “*European Muslim*” identity among the Muslim communities in Europe (Şenay, 2002: 143-147). This chronological process of the migration indicates that the starting point of the problems faced in Western counties today is Islam itself and the foreigner himself considered as the “other”. In other words, the religious identity and the immigrant identity of the foreigner is more on target of racism and discrimination today. German Turks consider their religious identity as the most important reason of discrimination and otherization in their society. Belgian Turks consider their perception as immigrant/stranger by the majority as the biggest problem. And the Turks in the Netherlands think that it is their ethnic identity that makes them target for discrimination and racism.

Toda in Europe we can see problems in living together with the “other” as direct results of globalization and intensive migration. European countries are having problems by dealing with economic, social and political integration; and they started to follow more introversive policies since the breakdown experienced by September 11. The fear and threat pumped by September 11 to the whole world were redefined on Muslims, foreigners and immigrants in Europe. In other words, the fear and introversion in Europe have been reformulated by the attitude towards Islam and the behavior towards foreigners (İnanç and Çetin, 2011). Therefore, in a

Europe where integrating and harmonizing with different cultural groups gets harder every day, it is very normal to have an increase in the concerns on future both for the host countries and the foreigners. Social and political problems that got deepened in Europe with the current economic crisis should be considered from a perspective of dialogue.

5.5. Political Participation of the Turkish Immigrants in Europe

The educational and linguistic competency, their socio-economic development and generation differences of the Turkish immigrants in Europe have an increasing effect on political participation and representation. At the same time, legal regulations of the host societies have another important effect on political participation and representation of the Turkish immigrants. For instance, the legal regulations conducted to increase the political participation of foreigners have established the ground for concrete increase in representation and participation rate in local and national elections in the Netherlands and Belgium. On the contrary, in countries such as France and Germany, which cause problems in active political participation and representation of immigrants, there is a huge rate of distrust and apathy towards political parties and political institutions. One of the most important dynamics of coexistence with participation and unity contributes positively to political participation and representation and social and public sphere. Sociologist Tribalat (1996) has conducted a comparative field study about the minorities in France and concluded that Turks were the groups that showed the biggest resistance to integration and assimilation among the ethnic and/or religious minorities (cited by Kaya and Kentel, 2005). The “*assimilation based integration*” in France has shaken the dynamism of Turkish society in France, including their political participation, and caused the experience of introversive integration.

Development of a political culture that supports the cultural pluralism in European societies where ethnic and religious minorities are permanent is one of the most privileged issues. In the report of European Council named ‘*Living Together as*

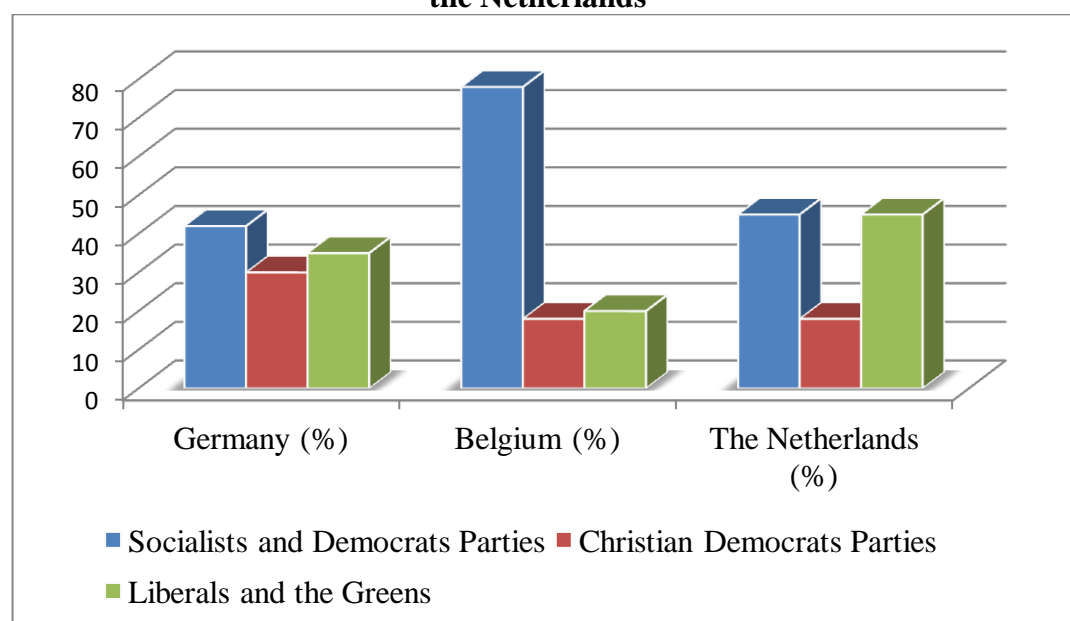
Equals in Dignity’,⁶³ it has been emphasized that the political culture can only develop with critical thinking, a new education system and participation. The report also argued that the active political participation and representation of all sections will contribute to the welfare of European societies and increase the level of integration. Reports of the European Council have emphasized that participation and democratic citizenship are important requirements in the development of intercultural dialogue. According to Badawia (2005: 206-207), participation to the political processes, representation, interest in public issues, freedom of thinking and struggle with radicalism in the countries where people reside is only possible with the functionality of democratic society (cited by Yıldız, 2008: 65). As a result, all differences in Western democratic societies could easily and freely speak only with the help of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism. This is the reason why all social sections directly participate in decision making processes of all pluralist societies.

This field study also analyzes the participation in decision making processes, representation and political choices of Turks in the sampling countries. This analysis was conducted by the data acquired from survey and interviews done in Cologne in Germany, Brussels in Belgium and Amsterdam in the Netherlands. Political choices of the Turks which have become diversified since 1990s, gives us a chance to make broad analyses in issues such as European Union, integration and assimilation, “European” identity and European citizenship. According to this, one of the two big political parties of Germany, *the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)* is supported by 42% (46 people) of Turks in Germany. Another big party *the Christian Democratic Union (CDU)* and *the Christian Social Union (CSU)* in the same category are being supported by 30% (33 people) of the Turks in Germany. On the other hand, *Alliance ’99/The Greens (GRÜNE)* is the second political party supported with Turks in Germany with 35% (38 people) (See Figure 11). The changing political choices of the respondents in different periods provided the support of several parties and diversification of political

⁶³ For more information about ‘*democratic citizenship and participation*’, please see; http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/white%20paper_final_revised_en.pdf (13.05.2014).

choices. The conservative *the Christian Democratic Union (CDU)* of the Chancellor Angela Merkel in the Federal Republic of Germany has a discriminative approach towards the Muslim-Turkish minority and rejects the membership of Turkey into the European Union; these resulted with disappointment among the Turkish voters. The policies of liberal parties such as the Social Democrats and the Greens, which do not exclude the Turkish identity, their support for Turkey's membership to the EU and acceptance of ethnic/religious differences seem to have had a positive effect on the Turkish voters. The preferences of the respondents to liberal, socialist and social democrat parties reflects the interest and conscious choice of Turks to the politics within the country they are living. Yet, until the beginning of 1990s, the Turkish immigrants have continued their rightist and conservative political preferences from their homeland in diaspora (Kaya, 2000). In the passing years of the migration, we can see a more participant, conscious and oppressive image of voters along with the change of generation in Germany. On the other hand, the civil society organizations established to fulfill the social, cultural and religious needs of the Turkish society in Germany have taken promoting and informative liabilities about the issues of political participation and representation both in national and local arena.

Figure 11. Political Preferences of the Respondents in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands



About 78% (43 people) of the respondents in Belgium have mentioned their political preference as *Socialist Party Differently (Sp.a)* and *Socialist Party (PS)*. 18% (10 people) of Turks in Belgium have preferred *Christian Democratic&Flemish (CD&V)*, and 20% (11 people) *Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats (Open Vld)* and *Green (Groen)* (See Figure 11). The Turkish voters in Belgium generally tend to prefer the Turkish candidates in their election areas. In other words, the Turkish voters do not generally make a rational choice in accordance with the programs, principles and election policies of the political parties; but in accordance with the Turkish candidates in those parties. The Turkish voters in Belgium do not prefer extreme rightist *Flemish Interest (Vlaams Belang)* and a nationalist and rightist party *New Flemish Alliance (N-VA)*. In the national elections conducted at May 25, 2014; 6 representatives of Turkish origin have achieved to become a member in Federal Parliament and 5 candidates have become members of Regional parliaments (Parliaments of Wallon, Brussels and Flaman). In 2010 elections, only 3 Turkish Belgian deputies have made it to 150-seated the Federal Parliament. In the elections of the European Parliament on May 25, 2014 none of the Turkish deputies have made it. The political awareness level of the Turks in Belgium has been increasing recently and it is in parallel with the increasing participation rate, council memberships and deputies.

45% (18 people) of the respondents in the Netherlands have voted for *Labor Party (PvdA)* and 18% (7 people) for *Christian Democratic Appeal*. On the other hand, 45% (18 people) of Turks in the Netherlands have voted or liberal parties such as *Democrats 66 (D66)*, *GreenLeft (GroenLinks)* and *People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)* (See Figure 11). Last elections in the Netherlands have indicated that central leftist parties (Labor Party-PvdA) integrated with the immigrants have been replaced. Young generations have started to prefer more liberal and environmentalist parties instead of central right and left parties their parents had supported. Still, majority of approximately 230 thousand Turkish voters in the Netherlands continue voting for central parties. But, following the 2008 economic crisis, vast masses in the Netherlands, including the immigrants, have tended to vote for local parties instead of central parties which have been in government since long years. *Democrats 66 (D66)* party has received support

from Turks and Moroccans as it stood against the extreme rightist parties, supported equal citizenship and requested educational reform.

In the elections of the Netherlands, the Turkish voters are supporting the Turkish candidates, just like in Belgium. High unemployment rates among Turks, Turkey-EU relations, adaptation policies, discrimination and inequalities in opportunities have directed the Turkish voters to political parties which are not centrist. Turks in the Netherlands have been expressing more participatory, liberal and a less traditionalist voter behavior thanks to the changes in generations, institutionalized civil society organizations, increasing citizenship consciousness and socio-economic developments. On the other hand, Geert Wilders' political party *Party for Freedom (PVV)*, which is anti-Islam and anti-immigrant, has lost a lot of votes lately. PVV, which has done several mistakes in the previous government as a partner, harmed the image of the country in international arena and developed an anti-immigrant and radical discourse, has only received 13,3% of the votes in 2014 European Parliament elections, and only had 4 deputies.

70% (144 people) of all respondents have indicated that they have the right to vote at local, national and the European Parliament in the countries they live. When country differences are considered, 48% (53 people) of Turks in Germany, 95% (52 people) of Turks in Belgium and 98% (39 people) of Turks in the Netherlands have the right to vote in their countries. When we think that 32% of a total of 2,7 million Turks living in Europe are residing in Germany and have the German citizenship status, the low level of voting for the respondents in Germany will be better understood. In other words, 64% of 1,1 million Turkish-German citizens are above voting age (700 thousand people). As the non-German citizens do not receive a right to vote and as dual citizenship law came so late, we can say that Turks have a low level of representation in German politics. About 16% (32 people) of all respondents have indicated that they are member of a political party in the country they live. 25% (10 people) of Turks in the Netherlands, 11% (6 people) of Turks in Belgium and 15% (16 people) of Turks in Germany are members of a political party. Political party membership is an important indicator of political participation. Within this context, it can be understood that Turks in

the Netherlands, where the right elect and being elected is not bound to be a citizen, are involved in local organizations of political parties. Another reason of this is that the Turks in the Netherlands have accepted the democratic norms and values more than the Turks in Germany.

To understand the level of political participation of Turkish immigrants, respondents were asked what kind of activities of the political party they support they are participating. According to this, 13% (26 people) of all respondents have said they participated in a meeting or protest of the political party they support, and 17% (34 people) said they did not. On the other hand, 8% (16 people) of all respondents have said that they have distributed the hand brochures and pamphlets of the political party they support, and 10% (20 people) have said that they have made the propaganda of the political party they support in written and verbal ways. Political participation is one of the active dimensions of citizenship, and it means conducting political activities in active or passive ways at different grounds. Therefore, the Turkish voters actively participate with the principle of social responsibility and awareness of citizenship; which provides them important advantages for adaptation. As a result, majority of European Turkish population, have developed in the first two parts of Robert Dahl's (1963: 56-57) our different political participation levels: to be interested, to care, to get informed and action. In other words, Turkish voters are basically interested in politics at the most limited and pure dimension of political participation and they go one step forward and care about political issues that directly interest them. European Turkish society is distant to getting informed and action, the most active dimensions of political participation, and they try to effect and direct the political decision makers with their preferred votes. Turkish society is a part of Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands and we can say that they have started to understand the importance of the belief in political participation and trust in politicians lately.

5.6. The Turkish-Islamic Organizations and Intercultural and Interfaith Dialogue

The Anatolian people, who have migrated from Turkey, which has been the cradle of many cultures and civilizations, can easily transfer the historical experience and

heritage of Turkey to host societies through intercultural and inter-religious members' dialogue. Along with this, the cultural heritage of Europe such as democratic citizenship, human rights, freedoms, supremacy of law and pluralism can be transferred to Turks and other ethnic/religious minorities through intercultural dialogue only. Starting from this point we can say that clash of civilizations is not the destiny of mankind and cultural diversity cannot be shown as the root of any conflict. The Turkish immigrants are the representatives of Turkish-Islamic culture in Europe, and they have remained distant to radical Islamist groups after September 11 and separated them from radical groups. The European Turkish society has generally resisted the radical and fanatic groupings; and one of their most dynamic organs is the Turkish Islamic organizations, which are open to intercultural dialogue and pluralism. The Turkish-Islamic organizations have aimed to protect the traditional Turkish family structure and generations against the assimilation, radicalism and bad habits. These movements are belief based, and they are the most dynamic and civil organizations that have the ability to decide for the establishment of social peace and sustainable dialogue.

One of the theories used while building the theoretical framework of this study is *the Organizational Commitment Theory*. The voluntary and participant behaviors of the followers of religious and social movements which are the strongest actors of the European Turkish diaspora support *the Organizational Commitment Theory*. Religious and social movements support the positive relationship Turkey developed in the democratization process; and it is predicted that they will have an important role in the understanding of liberal and democratic values within Turkish diaspora in Europe. These religious and social movements do not have a hierarchical organization, but they provide a very successful network of solidarity through the networks they have developed within. Intra-group solidarity networks and local networks in belief based movements within Europe strengthen the social relations and increase the feeling of responsibility. Objective and projects of social and religious movements in Europe, which have adapted the pluralist and multicultural culture of living together, in order to establish a participatory and responsible citizenship model is very important. The message carried out by these movements on participation, democracy, citizenship, human rights and freedoms

can be very effective. Group members share the target and vision of the movement, take liabilities and act accordingly. The European-Turkish diaspora has belief based movements with strong intra-group solidarity; and those are the biggest barrier on radical movements.

The faith-based movements grow up from below to top, depending on voluntary work and establish solidarity networks; and they have taken roles of transferring the basic religious and moral principles, economic and political participation, education, humanitarian aid, diplomacy and intercultural dialogue. A part of the faith-based movements that existed since the first years of migration give moderate, liberal and modern messages to their base; whereas another part carries out more traditional, political and radical messages. The faith-based movements in Europe can categorically be classified as traditional Islam, cultural Islam, moderate Islam, Sufism and radical Islam. Non-political faith-based *Gülen Movement* and *the Risale-i Nur Movement (Nurcular)* that represent the Turkish Sunni Islam, political Islamist *National Viewpoint Movement (Milli Görüş)*, statist *DITIB (the Turkish Islamic Union of the Religious Affairs Directorate)*, more traditionalist *Süleymancılar* and revolutionary and radical Islamist *Kaplan Community* are some of the Islamic communities organized in Europe (Yükleyen, 2012).⁶⁴ The Turkish community and Turkish Islamic movements in Europe have witnessed a political, cultural and social transformation in response to globalization, modernization and Westernization.

The Gülen Movement, a social movement inspired by Turkish Islamic scholar Fethullah Gülen, has developed a modern/secularist education and dialogue model among the Turkish-Islamic movements in Europe. The Gülen Movement, in Germany and other places where the Turkish diaspora is very strong, is the only Muslim-Turkish organization that does not aim to pursue a policy to make Islam recognizable. In other words, this movement is not interested in building a

⁶⁴ In the fifth volume of KAM e-Bulletin, published by Science and Art Foundation, Global Research Institute, an interview of Dr.Ahmet Yükleyen on “*Localized Islam in Europe: Turkish Muslim Communities in Germany and Netherlands*” can be found. For more information, please look at: http://bisav.org.tr/userfiles/yayinlar/KAM_E_BULTEN_5.pdf (10.05.2014).

mosque or Islamic education; but is interested in the teaching of secular knowledge which will eventually help the appearance of educated Muslim elite. This practical attitude goes together with internalization of religious and moral values (Seufert, 2014: 6-7). As transnational Islamic civic society movement, the Gülen Movement is executing a human focused work in Western European countries with a common message that synthesizes science, moral and dialogue. The common goal of intercultural dialogue institutions both in Europe and in other parts of the world is to serve the humanity and contribute to world peace. *Dialoog Academie (Dialogue Academy)* in the Netherlands is one of these institutions and it focuses on academic studies about tolerance and dialogue and researches on interreligious and intercultural issues. Also, *Platform INS*⁶⁵ conducts studies for the coherence and coexistence of different elements in the Netherlands and also shares the ideas of Fethullah Gülen with the public.

On the other hand, *Federation of Active Associations of Belgium (Fedactio)*⁶⁶, was established with the coherence of 25 associations in 2010 and it is known with its close relations with the Gülen Movement. One of the aims of the federation that operates in three administrative regions of Belgium is to promote and support the activities that contribute peaceful coexistence and emphasize the cultural diversity. Brussels centered *Intercultural Dialogue Platform (IDP)*,⁶⁷ whose honorary president is Fethullah Gülen, has been conducting international organizations those contribute to intercultural dialogue since its establishment (2010). In 2010, as a result of the involvement of IDP, in *Catholic University of Leuven (KU Leuven)*, *Fethullah Gülen Chair for Intercultural Studies (GCIS)*⁶⁸ was founded. GCIS is conducting academic research in order to develop the intercultural and interreligious dialogue in Belgium and Europe. On the other hand, *Golden Rose Brussels*, an association bound to *Federation of Active Associations of Belgium*

⁶⁵ For more information about *the Platform INS*, please see; <http://www.platformins.nl/> (15.07.2014).

⁶⁶ For more information about *the Fedactio*, please see; <http://www.fedactio.be/en/#!/dashboard> (11.06.2014).

⁶⁷ For more information about the *Intercultural Dialogue Platform (IDP)*, please see; <http://dialogueplatform.eu/> (10.07.2014).

⁶⁸ For more information about *the Fethullah Gülen Chair for Intercultural Studies (GCIS)* at Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre (IMMRC) at KU Leuven, please see; <http://gulenchair.com/> (11.07.2014).

(*Fedactio*) has been conducting colorful and comprehensive perform works on personal development, cultural and social adaptation and participation. The exhibition of personal stuff of Flamans and Turks in Belgium in a photography exhibition in 2014, is only one of the most interesting events of *Golden Rose Brussels*. In terms of the modern contribution of photography into social communication and dialogue, this exhibition has played the role as an important social project.

In almost all federal states of Germany, there are dialogue centers, educational centers and businessmen associations close to the Gülen Movement. *Alliance of German Dialogue Institutions (BDDI)*, is led by Fethullah Gülen as the honorary president, and is an upper institution of 14 dialogue centers and associations. One of these 14 dialogue centers, *Intercultural Dialogue Forum (FID e.V.)*⁶⁹, has contributed a lot to the adaptation process of Turkish society in Berlin in terms of organizational efficiency and productivity. *Intercultural Dialogue Forum (FID e.V.)*, is one of the three partners of a groundbreaking project in intercultural dialogue. The project called “*House of One*”⁷⁰ is a collaborative work that aims to gather church, mosque and synagogue under the same roof. An educational and prayer complex, in which the members and believers of three religions can pray and organize training activities, will be actualized with donations. In spite of the harsh reactions by some Islamic groups, *Intercultural Dialogue Forum (FID e.V.)*, concentrates on the project and showed that prejudices can be left aside and new beginnings can be made. It is a concrete reality that the goal of these projects is not to unite the religions, but to provide the contribution of religions to dialogue and peace.

The Gülen Movement has established very strong ties with Jews and Armenians and other Christian groups, thereby setting the grounds for intercultural cohesion; and they also make a voluntary lobbying for Turkey and the Turkish culture. A similar project to “*House of One*” is has implemented between *Hacı Bektaş Veli*

⁶⁹ For more information about *FID e.V.*, please see; http://www.fidev.org/front_content.php?idcat=2&lang=1 (13.06.2014).

⁷⁰ For more information about the ‘*House of One*’ project, please see; <http://house-of-one.org/en> (10.07.2014).

Foundation and *Cem Foundation*, two prominent organizations of the Turkish Alevi community and the Gülen Movement, in order to provide the close ties between the Sunnis and the Alevi community in Turkey. The name of the project is “*Mosque-Djemevi and Cultural Center*” and a campus will be built in which a mosque, a djemevi and food house will be together. On the other hand, *Akzente für den Dialog (AKDIA e.V.)* that operates in Nürnberg, Germany and *Intercultural Dialogue Centre Munich (IDIZEM e.V.)* that operates in Munich have been conducting dialogue and feast dinners, dialogue awards, Turkey trips, academic symposiums and conferences in order to provide the adaptation of the Turkish society. *Intercultural Dialogue Centre Munich (IDIZEM e.V.)*, has been giving dialog awards to people and institutions who have contributed to the development of dialogue and tolerance in German society since 2006.

On the other hand, the “Turkish schools” of the Gülen Movement are organized in 160 countries around the world, and they are very important in articulating the movement into the global process. This great educational movement at global scale is being financed with the resources of Turkey (Turkish businessmen). Therefore, this educational mobilization is a civil and original model within its framework (Bulaç, 2007: 288-289). Gülen Movement contributes to permanent peace and unities in Germany, where 24 state-approved private schools and around 150 extracurricular education centers (Seufert, 2014: 5). The Gülen Movement is sustaining its educational activities in Belgium since 2005 under the name *E’coles des e’toiles (Yildiz Okullari)*⁷¹ at Brussels and Valon regions. The education model of the educational institutions, also known as ‘*the Cosmic Schools*’⁷² in the Netherlands, use the global citizenship as subject and many Dutch parents also send their kids to these institutions (Zaman USA, 2011)⁷³. New Turkish generations in Europe will have a chance to resist assimilation and fanaticism only with the help of education and teachers. As the distance of youth

⁷¹ For more information about *Ecole des Etoiles (Stars Schools)*, please see; <http://www.ecoledesetoiles.be/> (12.06.2014).

⁷² For more information about *Cosmic School*, please see; <http://www.cosmicus.nl/> (12.06.2014).

⁷³ Zaman Amerika (2011), ‘Gülen Hareketi’ne Bağlı Okullar Modernliğe Büyük Önem Veriyor’, an interview with Prof. Karel Steenbrink, Catholic University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Available at <http://tr.fgulen.com/content/view/19275/11/> (13.06.2014).

from streets and criminal events important, so is the education of the teachers who will teach these youth. Within this context, the Gülen Movement has established schools, universities, kindergartens, education centers and student dormitories all around Europe and we can say that this social network is a “*sample experience*” in case of its contribution to education, educator and harmony.

Fethullah Gülen argues that Muslims have should free themselves from Bin Laden’s distorted understanding and believes that the outlook of Islam, which is darkened by terror, suicide bombs, robotized people without any feelings; can change with the effort of believers. In his interview with Mehmet Gündem from Milliyet Newspaper in the last days of December 2004, Gülen said: “*My Master (Prophet of Islam)’s recognition as the founder of a religion to which terrorists believe is a serious unjust done to him*” (Gündem, 2005: 201-202). In short, Gülen advises the volunteers of his movement to work for correct explanation of Prophet of Islam, to establish dialogue with the representatives of all beliefs and cultures, and to challenge the ignorance with a moral and quality education. Hundreds of educational institutions constituted after Gülen’s advises are building the social grounds of dialogue and tolerance and fulfill the requirement of “*model individual*” which is the deepest problem of modern civilization (Ergene, 2005: 270). Gülen’s model of a moderate, soft, pluralist and peaceful society which he practiced through education has the dynamics to reduce the polarization and prejudice in the Western and all over the world. According to a field study conducted among the educators and institutions of the Gülen Movement in Indonesia and Singapore, the Turkish schools in Indonesia have disseminated the discourse of a moderate and tolerant Islam throughout the country. In Singapore, where Muslims are a minority, the friendly ties between the Muslims and non-Muslims strengthened and the mutual dialogue has increased with the contribution of Turkish schools and dialogue associations (Osman, 2014: 369-370).

What are the dynamics of social and belief based movements such as the Gülen Movement that mobilizes people and keeps the intra-group solidarity and group belonging alive? We can explain the answer of this question by *Organizational Commitment Theory* used by Robert Kanter in 1960s and 1970s in his study

conducted on devotion in American community. *Organizational Commitment Theory* was used by Helen R. Ebaugh (2010: 26) to explain the devotion of the people serving for the Gülen Movement all around the world. Groups that take religion as a reference, whether it is *the Gülen Movement* or *the Risale-i Nur Movement* (*Nurcular*), *Milli Görüş* (*National Viewpoint*) *Movement* or *Süleymancılar*; have always needed volunteers and devoted people to make their beliefs and ideas reach people. These groups have also recruited those devotees they have trained with their own methods in order to serve within the areas needed and targeted. According to American sociologist Ebaugh, the basic structure in Gülen Movement that creates and revives the feeling of devotion is the local networks. According to Ebaugh, these local networks consist of people regularly coming together in order to support for the implementation of Gülen Movement's projects on education, health, humanitarian aid and other areas. The Gülen Movement does not officially adopt a hierarchical organizational model, and distributes the liabilities to local units with a decentralized understanding of bureaucracy, thereby providing intra-group belonging and commitment. Devotees in the Gülen Movement act with the feelings of responsibility and belonging, and they consider themselves as successful or not just like the players of a team. Therefore, the Gülen Movement has a group identity that embraces the targets both in local and global levels and acts in a harmonious and cooperative way (Ebaugh, 2010: 161-162). As a result, belief based groups organized within the European Turkish society socialize with intra or extra group relations and communication networks and grow up devoted generations that have taken responsibility around a common goal.

The Turkish-Islamic movements and communities are modern civil organizations and social actors in its real sense. Devotion, sharing, helping and sacrifice are basic behavior codes in faith-based communities. According to F. Fukuyama, these characteristics of community members are a social capital that the Western welfare societies do not have in spite of their high level of scientific accumulation, technological dominance and economic richness. Therefore this capital is the warranty for the peaceful and orderly sustaining of the social life (Bulaç, 2007: 36). Bourdieu (1983, 1986) sees social capital as the whole of social networks that

provide common interest for individuals; Coleman (1988) considers that both with a functional and pragmatist approach and Putnam (1993) sees it as the whole of social organizations, networks, trust and social norms. In democratic and pluralist societies, civil society organizations and the social solidarity networks established by these institutions within themselves are the forerunning elements of social capital (Balkanlıoğlu and Irmak, 2014: 140-142). The European Turkish-Islamic movements and civil society organizations as a type of social capital are functional social organizations that fulfill the social, cultural and religious necessities of individuals. The socio-cultural and religious activities of Turkish-Islamic communities in Europe contribute to intra-group solidarity, strengthening of social networks and building of mutual trust.

Individuals in Western societies have the characteristic to get into action by themselves, independent from their environment. But, the people of East can sacrifice their individual choices and expectations for the sake of their group and social environment. Therefore, as the ego of Eastern people is reshaped under the effect of collective consciousness, it is open to dialogue and in harmony with group decisions of family and social environment (Aydın, 2006). According to Hui and Triandis (1986), Turks are in principle a collectivist community. According to Triandis (2001), individuals of a group focused culture define themselves with their belonging to a group and act in accordance with the targets and aims of the group they belong to (cited by Akıncı, 2014: 35). On the other hand, in traditional or conservative societies, it is more important for individuals to be successful as part of a collective whole, a social environment rather than their individual success. *Social Identity Theory* of psychologist Henri Tajfel (1978) points out that as individuals have the identity of a collective group their social relations will develop and this will turn them into individuals with advantageous social identities. One of the most important elements European Turks have is ethnic belonging and another one is Islam. Turks in Europe have a profile which is strongly bound to their collective religious and cultural identities (Faist, 2003: 317). As the associations that serve as mosques by time turn into social spheres, we can say that religious and cultural identities have been restored. Group focused culture/belonging and devotion/solidarity is the most important dynamic that

makes the Turkish immigrants, who are excluded in economy, education and politics, resistant and strong. The most concrete structures that make the Turks stronger against cultural assimilation and injustice are the institutional services that can be seen at every level. The mosque, mosque associations, culture and dialog centers, school, dormitories, kindergartens, university, humanitarian aid organizations and media organs (newspaper, journal, TV, radio etc.) are the social networks that provide intra and extra group socialization and solidarity. These institutional and social networks also establish the base of social capital and they strengthen the social relations and intra group solidarity of Turkish community in Europe. One of the respondents who emphasized the importance of faith-based movements to harmony and intercultural dialogue underlined these:

'In recent years, the social, cultural and academic activities exercised by civil society increase the cohesion. The activities integrate different cultures and bring people together. There are associations and institutions that take important parts about this...Bringing people together, uniting them around a table and helping them to communicate is important in terms of mutual trust.' (Male, aged 19-35 years, the Netherlands).

According to Amenta (2006: 14-17), one of the most obvious characteristics of all social movements today is their appearance with a demand for change and executing common action campaigns for this purpose. The effort of volunteers coming together around the campaign for common action strengthen the intra group ties and motivates those people who are out of the group to participate in order to life the inequalities (cited by Achenbaum, 2009: 16-17). According to W. Andrew Achenbaum, there are five basic criteria that make the Gülen Movement a social one. These are; the suggestion of Gülen's tolerance message of a vision for change, Gülen Movement's network that passes the local and national levels, Gülen Movement's media network that transfers its messages, Gülen Movement's mission and activities' promotion of participation and the "identity policy" of the Gülen Movement that insists on tolerance and civil (Achenbaum, 2009: 19-24). Media is very important for Gülen Movement and that contributes for the promotion and dissemination of activities around tolerance and dialogue.

Fethullah Gülen openly supports the European Union membership of Turkey in order to become an open and democratic society and to use the empirical sciences of Europe. But, the Islamic communities and dominant secular elites of Turkey criticize this approach of Gülen (Ünal and Williams, 2000: 36-38; Yılmaz, 2000: 399). According to some political Islamists in Turkey and Europe, European Union is a Christian club and a threat both for the Turkish national and Muslim identity. But, Gülen is against the “use of religion as a tool in politics” and “creation of a negative Islamic understanding by turning it into an ideology”; thereby clearly underlining the difference between Islam and Islamism (Williams, 2009: 59-60; Yılmaz, 2005: 397). The reason of the specific emphasis of Gülen Movement under certain titles in this study is that the movement is a belief movement based on civil society, that it clearly supports interreligious and intercultural dialogue and has a cultural understanding that gives importance to mutual respect and compromise. *The Foundation of Journalists and Authors (GYV)*, of which Gülen is the honorary president, has guided the public sphere by producing solutions on tensions and conflicts in Turkey for years (Williams, 2009: 64). It has been predicted that the Gülen Movement will play an active role in the future vision of European Turkish society in terms of pluralism, open society model and a modern and civil religious understanding. Besides, it is also predicted that the steps taken by Gülen Movement in order to build a bridge between Islam and Western civilizations and between the Islamic culture and the democratic and modern values of the West will contribute to the understanding of pluralism within the Turkish community in Europe.

According to Landman (2005: 118-128), the institutionalization of Islam in the Netherlands was completed in four stages. The first steps of organizations among the Turkish and Moroccan Muslims were taken by establishing mosques. Since the beginning of 1990s, many Muslim communities in Europe have built their own mosques. Today, the tendency is to physically enhance the existing ones and to carry them to better locations; instead of opening up new mosques. Second stage is the Islamic organizations established around the existing mosques. At this stage mosques were reshaped according to the requirements and have become the centers of social and cultural activities as well. At the third stage, mosque

associations have become national and even international with a network and a hierarchical structure. For instance, *the Turkish-Islamic Cultural Associations Federation (TIKDF)* which collaborates with Presidency of Religious Affairs in Turkey and *the Islamic Foundation of the Netherlands (HDV)* are the first Islamic organizations established in the Netherlands. *The Netherlands Islamic Federation (HIF)* which represents Milli Görüş (National Viewpoint) Movement and *the Netherlands Islamic Center Foundation (HIMV)* established by the students of Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan are the other two important religious organizations. Last stage of institutionalization of Islam in the Netherlands is the organizations that appear on areas such as education, culture and media. According to Richard W. Bulliet (2007: 185), previously all types of diasporas tended to create introversive communities; but today, the diaspora communities in Europe and America are in search for economic participation and social normalization.

On the other hand, the groupings and polarization among the Turkish Islamic groups causes the waste of resources and labor. The polarizations, usually originate from protecting group base, are one of the most obvious disadvantages in front of the Islamic communities which are “the parts of a whole”. Religious communities have mobilized their base through mosque associations until the beginning of 1990s; but they have lost the material support and the number of members after *the Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkey* has made a movement towards the whole of European Turkish society. The Presidency of Religious Affairs sends imams to each mosque association that demand and complies with the physical conditions. *The Turkish-Islamic Union of the Religious Affairs Directorate (DITIB)* which tries to establish an efficient and professional governance network throughout Europe and the private enterprises such as *the Islamic Council of Germany (IGMG)* and *the Association of Islamic Cultural Centers (VIKZ)* the biggest organizations that fulfill the need for prayer of the Turkish community in Europe. Therefore, the religious organizations, which will contribute to the solution of existing problems, will embrace all of the Turkish population and educate the young people in accordance with the necessities of current time, have a promising future in Europe. Another important point is the

establishment of institutional structures that would represent all Muslims from different origins in front of the governments in Europe.

Approximately 3 thousand mosque associations (at least 100 of them with minarets) in Germany have gathered under a roof organization in 2007, which is named *the Coordination Council of Muslims in Germany* (Şahinöz, 2013: 46-48). *The Coordination Council of Muslims in Germany* (KRM) represents majority of the mosque associations (80%) in Germany and it was established by the participation of four (4) big Islamic organizations which are *the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DİTİB)*, *the Islamic Council of Germany (Islamrat-IGMG)*, *the Central Council of Muslims in Germany (ZMD)* and *the Association of Islamic Cultural Centers (VIKZ)*. KRM is the official representative of Islamic communities in Germany and has filled an important gap in name of religious courses in schools, educating Islamic scientists in universities, increasing the solidarity and becoming stronger (Yeneroğlu, 2007: 5-6). KRM has taken a concrete step in order to prevent the exploitation of religions which is shown as the reason of conflicts in Iraq and Syria, and to contribute the dialogue between the religions and members of religions. “*Dialogue Guide*” (*German: Dialogratgeber*)⁷⁴ which is conducted in partnership with *Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD)* is a written text where the contribution of religions to peace is explained and the bases and difficulties of the dialogue is reminded.

The Alevism sect of Islam has always been centered on human and dialogue as well. The Alevis have started to organize under the name of the ‘Alevism’ in the diaspora as a cultural and social movement even before Turkey, and today they have a very strong organization in Europe. More than 200 the Alevi cultural centers have gathered under a common roof named *the Federations of Alevi Organizations in Europe (AABF)* in 2002. *The Federations of Alevi Organizations in Germany (AABF)* is the most effective member of this organization and it is accepted as a legal belief organization in Germany, organizing the teaching of the Alevi belief and culture in many schools. The answers given by Baykal

⁷⁴ ‘Promoting peaceful living together’, EKD Press Releases, Sven Waske, 16 June 2014, available at http://www.ekd.de/english/ekd_press_releases-5105.html (20.07.2014).

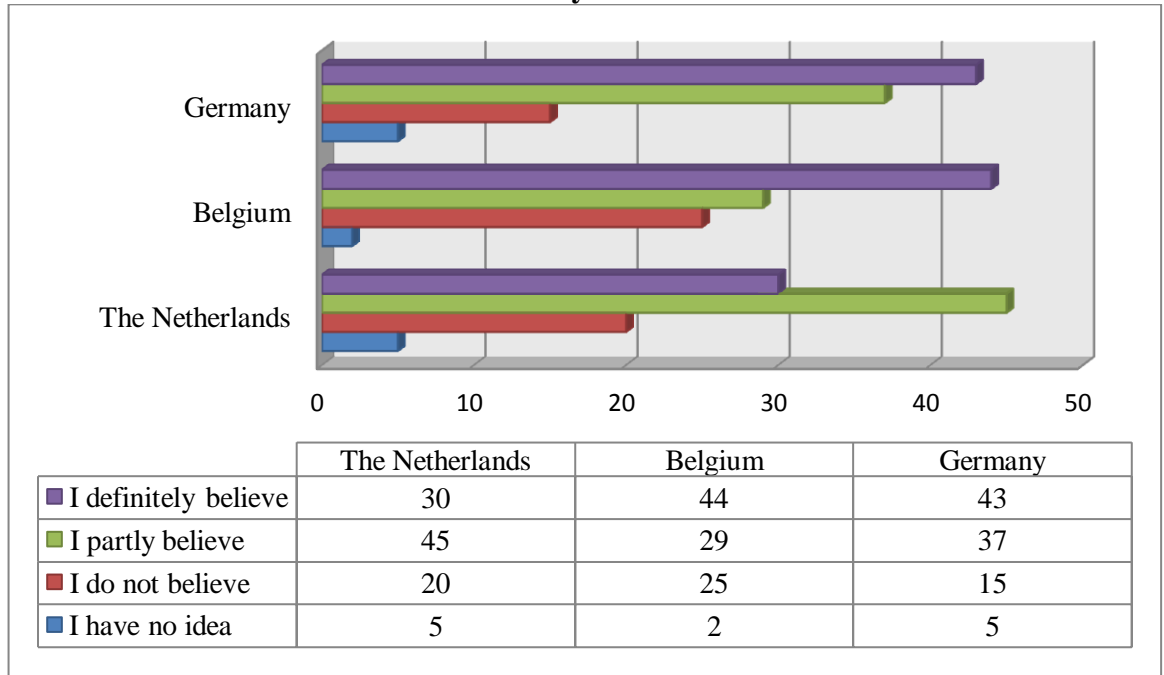
Arslanbuğa, the Executive Board member of the *Federations of Alevi Organizations in Germany (AABF)* to our questions on cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and radicalism give important hints about the Alevis as a religious and cultural community. He answered our question “*As AABF in Germany, which areas of communication are important for you with the host society? Do you believe in the necessity of communication?*”;

‘We definitely give importance to communication. The Alevi organizations conduct open door days in the cities where they are located, there are good relations with other belief organizations, civil society organizations, media and politics. Mutual visits are being implemented. We execute common projects and works in the areas of education, youth, social and cultural issues, and religion...’

Arslanbuğa said that the European Turkish society has achieved a lot in terms of coexistence, and relates this success with democracy and the culture of argumentation. Arslanbuğa also believes that the authorities in Germany have contributed a lot by establishing working groups about many problems, inviting the parties and trying to find solutions. Arslanbuğa also thinks that mutual respect and pluralist cultural understanding will play important roles in the solution of the problems and said that he was hopeful for the future. On the other hand, to our question “*What is your attitude towards the existing or future radical and extreme tendencies within the European Turkish society? What kind of precautions do you take against the radical tendencies?*”, Arslanbuğa answered:

‘We make informative activities for our people. And we receive professional help from the institutions that work on this area. Also, we do not face with many problems as long as we tell the humanitarian values of the Alevism to our people. These problems usually occur in the people whom we cannot reach. But especially the Sunni institutions have to work more on this area...’

Figure 12. Do you believe that religious groups and communities in your society which are of Turkey origin contribute to intercultural dialogue and harmony?



Answers given to the question “*Do you believe that religious groups and communities in your society which are of Turkey origin contribute to intercultural dialogue and harmony?*” are 40% (83 people) “I definitely believe”, 37% (75 people) “I partly believe” and 19% (38 people) “I don’t”. When country differences are considered, 43% (47 people) of Turks in Germany, 44% (24 people) of Turks in Belgium and 30% (12 people) of Turks in the Netherlands have answered as “I definitely believe”. The rate of the people who partially believe that the Turkish-Islamic organizations partially contribute to intercultural dialogue and mutual harmony is %37 in Germany, 29% in Belgium and 45% in the Netherlands. The rate of people who do not believe in this is 15% in Germany, 25% in Belgium and 20% in the Netherlands (See Figure 12). The Turkish religious groups and communities are the sources of intra group socialization in host societies and also help the dialogue with the majority. Turks have a group focused social identity and psychology, and have tried to protect themselves with social and religious networks. Today, dialogue with other religious groups, like the Christian Western societies, are being implemented with the social networks established by belief based movements. Feast dinners, mutual celebrations in religious and national days, visits, openings, academic organizations and cultural

programs are conducted by these institutional foundations and associations. Different people sharing same table and environment get used to each other. Institutions that see these actions and organizations have fruitful results for future, are motivated even more. It has been predicted that many institutional structures in the future will establish dialogues with their own societies.

The Islamic Foundation of the Netherlands (HDV) has been serving all the Muslims in the Netherlands with its 150 mosque associations since 1982 is contributing to the dialogue with the projects in different areas. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Ünver, the Executive Board President of the Islamic Foundation of the Netherlands (HDV) - The Hague Religious Services Consultant has summarized some of the projects as follows:

“As the Islamic Foundation of the Netherlands (HDV) we believe in being open, sharing and recognition processes. “Open door organizations” and a movie about “Islam and mosque” prepared in Turkish and Dutch are some of the ways we apply to introduce ourselves. We act together with the Dutch society in national holidays, send Christmas messages to Dutch society, Queen messages etc. to build a healthy communication with the host society. Also, we officially collaborate with charity organizations such as Dutch Blood Bank and Food Bank...”

To sum up, the Turkish-Islamic movements and organizations are the most dynamic structures that contribute to the harmony, socialization, participation and dialogue with host societies of the Turkish community in Europe. To continue with their dynamism and getting accepted by mass groups of people depend on their strong ideal and intellectual capacity. The Turkish-Islamic movements do not have radicalization in their roots and are a safe haven for the young generations not to become members of radical fractions. The Turkish-Islamic organizations and civil society organizations are also considered as important bridges between the host societies and the minorities to establish permanent relations and deep friendships.

5.7. The Role of the Turkish Community on Intercultural and Interfaith Dialogue

Dialogue is the communication and exchange of idea between a group of people; their discussion and speaking with one another. Interreligious or intercultural dialogue is the building up of communication among people from different beliefs, cultures and religions within the boundaries of goodwill and mutual tolerance. The meeting of each religion and belief on common grounds by being loyal to the essence and spirit of their schools and of them acting together is the stemming point of interreligious and intercultural dialogue. As these definitions point out, dialogue plays a key role in the solution of every problem, conflict and biases from local ones to global. The contribution of religions and members of religion to the solution of problems such as moral corruption, environmental problems, AIDS and HIV, poverty, abortion, gay marriages, caste system, social exclusion, racism, terror, war and exploitation cannot be neglected (Kurucan, 2006: 16-17). Therefore, it should not be forgotten that interreligious and intercultural dialogue will prepare the legitimate grounds for the search of common solutions and contribute an ability of movement.

There are several proofs in Qur'an and Sunna of Prophet about dialogue and alliance being legitimate and necessary. In Ankabut we can see (Al-Ankabut/The Spider, 29/46), *'Do not argue with those who were given the Book save in the best way, unless it be those of them who are given to wrongdoing (and therefore not accessible to courteous argument). Say (to them): 'We believe in what has been sent down to us and what was sent down to you, and your God and our God is one and the same. We are Muslims wholly submitted to Him'* (Ünal, 2008: 830). Qur'an has referred to The Book many times, which means the members of holy religions such as Christians and the Jews. In this verse, it has been ordered to struggle with the sane members of The Book in the best possible way. Besides, this verse emphasizes the common grounds as the basic belief principles of Islam and draws attention to the method and manners while dealing with the members of The Book (Aydüz, 2005; Kurucan, 2006: 32). Civil society organizations, referring to the orders in the Qur'an about establishing humanitarian relations with the members of The Book and doing good things to them, have given

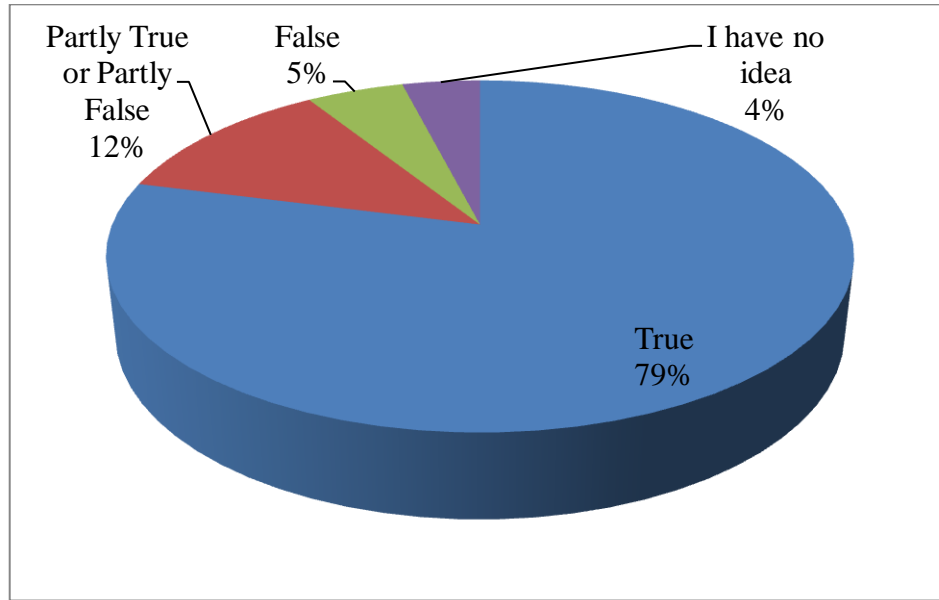
importance to the activities of dialogue among religions and members of religions. On the contrary, some groups (especially the political Islamists and marginal groups in Turkey), who reject the interfaith and intercultural dialogue, argue against dialogue activities that aim to combine religions, missionary and compensate from faith principals. Activities of dialogue among the members of religions and the religions have first started with *the Foundation of Journalists and Authors* (GYV) in Turkey, of which Fethullah Gülen is the honorary president. The foundation has brought people from all over Turkey without making any discrimination and has started dialogue with many religious members outside of the Turkey as well. These steps of dialogue have by time been accepted by the Religious Affairs Directorate and civil society organizations in Turkey. The practice of interreligious dialogue is a very important duty in front of the humanity in order to institutionalize the dialogue of civilizations.

Christians also believe in the necessity of a tolerance and dialogue ground and getting closer with the Muslims. Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) has opened the first gate of dialogue for Christians to establish dialogue with other religions, and it focused on the importance of relations between The Book and the Muslims; emphasizing the similarities of understanding and beliefs in many areas (Yılmaz, 2004: 113). Current spiritual leader of Christian world, Pope Francisco Bergoglio has shared with the public his will to develop the dialogue with the Islamic countries is an important step in intercultural dialogue. Dialogue studies have been conceptualized and implemented after the Second Vatican Council are important even though they had a missionary tendency.

Islam is one of the basic social motives for the Muslims and it is also one of the main determinants for the Turkish society in Europe. The suggestion of the Prophet of Islam and Qur'an to have humanitarian relations with The Book (Christians and Jews) and to help them, is the basic reference for the European Turkish society. The rights and freedoms given by the prophet of Islam to the believers in Medina and to secure their safety is another experience for the Muslims. Therefore, the European Turkish society has no problems in adapting to pluralism and democracy. Islam shapes the cultural identity of Turkish European

society and it also helps the individuals to shape their relations with others along with their behaviors.

Figure 13. Do you think that it correct to establish tolerance and dialogue between the members of different religions and cultures?



The answers given to the question “*Do you think that it correct to establish tolerance and dialogue between the members of different religions and cultures?*” is 79% (161 people) “I do” 12% (25 people) “I partially consider it right/wrong” and 5% (10 people) “I don’t” (See Figure 13). 78% (75 people) of the female respondents (96 people) and 79% (86 people) of the male respondents (109 people) think that mutual tolerance and dialogue efforts are correct. On the other hand, 84% (92 people) of the respondents aged 19-35 years (109 people) and 72% (59 people) of the respondents aged 36-50 years (82 people) think that mutual tolerance and dialogue efforts are correct. The Turkish male and female respondents are very closely in the same opinion about mutual tolerance and dialogue, and also the new generations are more supportive more than their families in mutual tolerance and dialogue efforts. Turks are open to dialogue at intercultural and interreligious levels and they support all the dialogue efforts which would eventually contribute to coexistence. Dialogue is an important dynamic to establish social peace and prosperity, at the same time dialogue is seen as an opportunity for the solution of many problems that influence the Turkish community in Europe. One of the

opportunities is available a dialogue platform today to remove prejudice and bias are coming from the depth of history. It has become an indispensable fact that the Turkish society has to turn dialogue in a free, participant and democratic social ground. Therefore, it is a necessity for the Turks to try to find out the ways of dialogue with Christians, Jews and all other religions and cultures. It is expected in this study that the European Turkish society could be one of the major players in the tolerance and dialogue process.

We start to witness that the Turkish associations have started to give the necessary importance to dialogue in European societies. European Union of Turkish-Islamic Cultural Associations (ATIB) President's Main Consultant and Foreign Affairs Director Mahmut Aşkar summarize this:

“European Union of Turkish-Islamic Cultural Associations (ATIB) has preserved its own culture and cultural identity since the first day it was founded and acted according to the principle of communicating with local nations at every level of life. We give importance to cooperation in terms of cultural level and acceptance of the member of different religions the mutual dialogue and differences. In addition to this, we promote the new generations to get interested in participate in German politics.”

The answers given to the question: *“Please list the steps you think would increase the atmosphere of dialogue and tolerance among the members of different religions and cultures”* are important to analyze. First of these steps that the respondents said as *“very important”* is 83% (171 people) the publications by media in which they make unifying and peaceful news. Second one is the usage of tolerance language in the educational curriculum by 76% (156 people). Third step is the ending of the legal, bureaucratic and political discriminations by official and civil organizations at a rate of 72% (148 people). Other steps mentioned as *“very important”* by the respondents are the usage of a unifying attitude by the politicians and the religious groups to be more into dialogue by 68% (139 people). About 57% (116 people) of the respondents requested the civil society organizations to conduct more policies for mutual dialogue and 52% (107 people) consider the official institutions' support of the dialogue *“very important”*. About

50% (103 people) of all respondents have mentioned not to compromise from dialogue and tolerance individually as “*very important*”. Islam world did not yet take any initiative so far for global and intercultural/interreligious dialogue. Some groups which dared to interreligious and intercultural dialogue were criticized by other groups very harshly. But, coexistence has become indispensable today with the help of international migrations and it is a must for the members of each belief to take an active and strong initiative and establish a ground for dialogue. In our current world where all social relations became interactive, the European Turkish society seems to have realized the necessity of an intercultural and interreligious dialogue.

Table 14. Main Objectives on Intercultural and Interreligious Dialogue and Understanding

Main Objectives	Very important (f)	Important (f)	Not important (f)	I have no idea (f)
Knowing each other and having the correct information	174	27	2	2
Adding people to one side's life style by convincing the others	34	33	128	10
Solving common problems	141	56	4	4
Increasing friendship relations	169	28	4	3
Increasing the 'mutual self-interests'	43	40	110	12
Preventing radicalism and extremism	156	37	7	5

The answers given to the question: “*Please list in an order some statements that could be counted as the aims of dialogue between the members of different cultures and religions*” are by 85% (174 people) knowing each other and having the correct information as “*very important*” for dialogue. 82% (169 people) of all respondents have said that increasing the friendship, love and respect is very important for dialogue. 76% (156) said that “*preventing the extreme right and*

nationalist groups”, and 69% (141 people) said that “*solving the existing common problems*” are “*very important*”. 62% (128 people) did not find “*adding people to one side’s life style by convincing the others*” and “*to increase the mutual personal interests*” by 54% (110 people) as “not correct” (See Table 14). Therefore, each individual, group and member of religions understanding of each other is more important for mutual dialogue. “*Knowing each other and having the correct information about the others*” is a very important goal of dialogue and it points out what parties might learn from each other and know each other in the best way.

The understanding of “*how can we know the others with the most accurate or correct information and how can we learn something with mutual information share*” seems that has been internalized by the majority of Turkish community in Europe. On the other hand, another important point for the respondents is the development of mutual love, respect and friendship through dialogue. Living together, respect and trust will make it possible to live in peace. Therefore, the most important aim of intercultural and interreligious dialogue is to build the peace in every area. “Being a human” it is the starting point dialogue and communication. The organization of many groups in the European Turkish society under dialogue and cultural centers indicates that the Turkish society wants to meet, recognize and cooperate. In 2012, in Speyer, Germany *Interreligious Dialogue Forum (Germany: Interreligiösen Forums Speyer)* was established among the representatives of Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities in order to promote the interreligious cooperation and to develop coexistence.

Table 15. The Role of the Turkish Community on Alliance of Civilization and Intercultural Dialogue

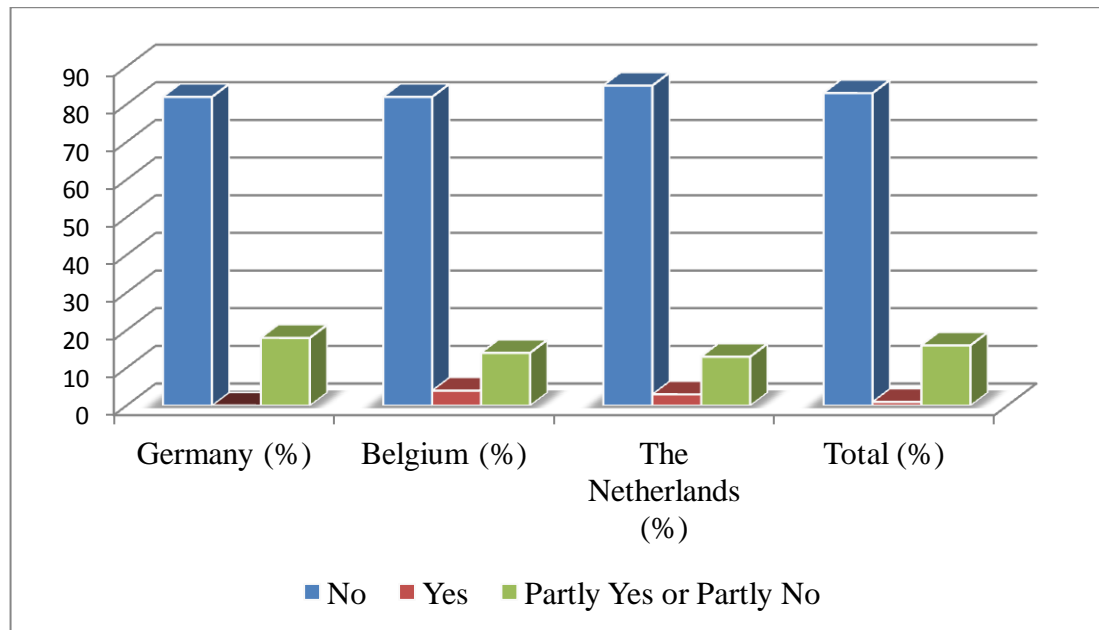
Main Roles	True (f)	False (f)	I have no idea (f)
The Turkish society has a role to decrease the prejudice and polarization in Europe	140	44	21
The Turkish society has a role to develop peace and cooperation in Europe	161	31	13
The Turkish society remains distant to radical political, religious and ideological groups within itself	119	56	30
The Turkish society supports Turkey's membership to European Union	133	49	23
The Turkish society is marginalizing each year	46	113	45
The distinction between the Turkish and Western societies is increasing	51	132	22
The Turkish society cannot act together because of different religious, political, ethnic and ideological groups within it	91	89	25
The Turkish society is not possible to take an active role in 'alliance of civilization and intercultural dialogue'	30	139	34

The answers given to the question: “Which ones of the following statements are right or wrong in terms of the role of the European Turkish society in Alliance of Civilizations an Intercultural Dialogue?” are on Table 15. About 79% (161 people) of all respondents think that the European Turkish society has a role to develop peace and cooperation in Europe. About 68% (140 people) think that the Turkish society has a role to decrease the prejudice and polarization in Europe which is shaped by religion and culture. 65% (133 people) of all the respondents think that the European Turkish society supports Turkey's membership to European Union and 58% (119 people) think that the Turkish society remains distant to radical political, religious and ideological groups within itself. On the other hand, 55% (113 people) of the respondents do not think that the European

Turkish society is marginalizing each year, but 22% (46 people) consider it as correct. 25% (51 people) think that the statement *“the distinction between the Turkish and Western societies is increasing”* is correct, but 64% (132) think it is not. Approximately 44% (91 people) of the respondents think that *“Turkish society can’t act together because of different religious, political, ethnic and ideological groups within it”* is correct, as 42% (89 people) consider it as wrong. Lastly %15 (30 people) of respondents believe that Turkish society is not possible to take an active role in ‘alliance of civilization and intercultural dialogue’, but %68 (139 people) is not believe the idea. In other words, a significant majority of the Turkish society believe to take an active role in ‘alliance of civilization and intercultural dialogue’ in Europe. Generally, a great majority of the respondents are very moderate and open in terms of dialogue with the members of other religions and cultures. European Turkish society does not accept a solid, monolithic and radical religious understanding and they are very optimistic about the synthesis of numerous points between Islam and the modern Western ideals. Statements below summarize the belief of Turks in democratic pluralism:

‘Turkish society has the biggest majority among the foreigners and it provides an important diversity. Our people are used to live together and open to it; and also have the dynamics to strengthen this unity. Our people have come to Europe from different corners of Anatolia and they have an experience of living together with diverse ethnic and religious people for centuries. Coexistence is not a new thing for us, but our exclusion in the countries we live is a different thing... Europe did not have a problem of integration, but a problem of acceptance...And foreigners are not guilty about this.’ (Male, aged 36-50 years, Germany)

Figure 14. Do you think it is appropriate to have a German/Belgian/Dutch partner, business associate, boyfriend/girlfriend or neighbor?



The answers given to the question: “*Do you think it is appropriate to have a German/Belgian/Dutch partner, business associate, boyfriend/girlfriend or neighbour?*” is “No, I do not consider it as a problem. On the contrary, I think it is useful” by 82% (90 people) of Turks in Germany, 82% (45 people) by Turks in Belgium and 85% (34 people) by Turks in the Netherlands. On the other hand, 18% (20 people) of Turks in Germany, 14% (8 people) of Turks in Belgium and 13% (5 people) of Turks in the Netherlands do not see any positive or negative thing in this (See Figure 14). There are differences on the behavior of having a social environment and choosing spouse or friend depending on variables such as education, language, average of age, differences in generations, country and socio-economic status. Among the respondents with high level of socio-economic and education, we see the will and courage to have a social environment except own ethnic and religious group. Freedom of choice in spouse and friends indicate that there is a change of traditional family and belonging culture in the new generations. On the other hand, it is understood that the Turks in the Netherlands are more willing to communicate and develop social relations with the host society more than the Turks in Belgium and Germany. As the pluralist tradition of the Netherlands did not emphasize the racial and religious differences, this helped

the Turkish society to have a place in social and public sphere. In Germany, we cannot see any institutionalized multicultural understanding (Tol, 2012: 305-309).

Within new generations, new friendships and relationships usually occur out of household; whereas the friendship and neighbourly relationships of elder participants occur among the household. Besides, the level of interest of Turks in Belgium and Netherlands to the local news and policies makes it easy for them to have a social environment. Individuals with higher levels of self-confidence and who are aware of their environment are more capable in terms of building friendships and good relations with people from different cultures. The statements below summarize this situation and also reveal the natural dimensions of the communication skill:

‘... Even though I had lack in language and that our neighbours remained distant to us in the first days, we currently are very sympathetic towards each other. They take care of our children, and we celebrate their feasts, give them gifts, and receive gifts from them. So, the prejudices and conflicts have shifted with dialogue and mutual understanding.’ (Female, aged 19-35 ages, Belgium).

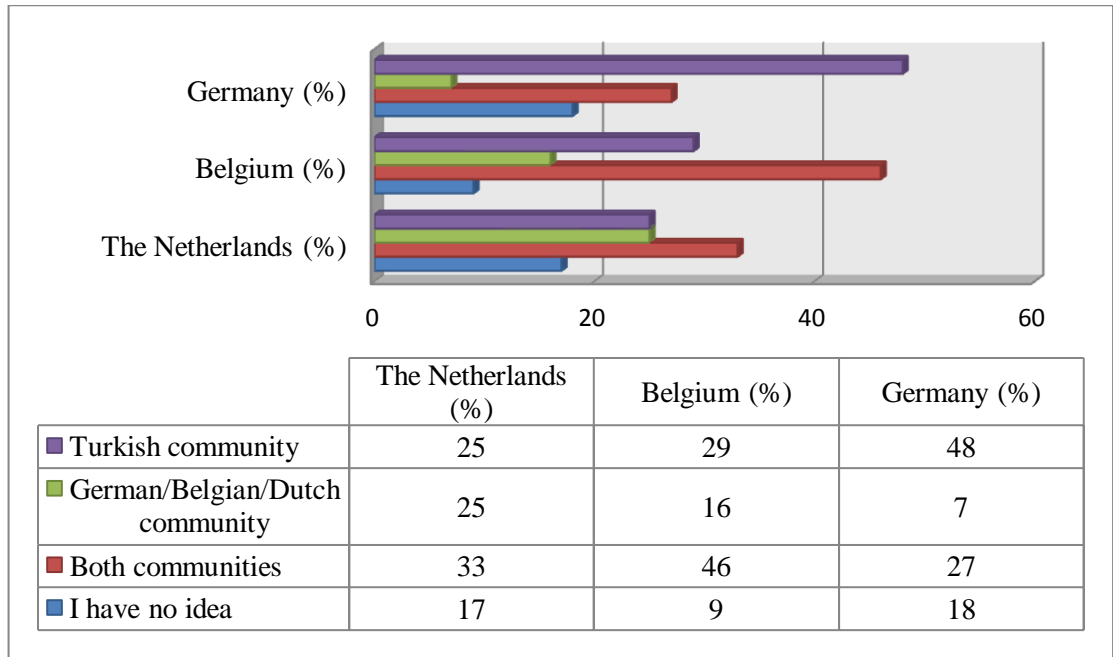
Table 16. What do you think are the most important dynamics of European Turkish society has in terms of tolerance and dialogue?

Dynamics	Very important (f)	Important (f)	Not important (f)	I have no idea (f)
The culture of tolerance	153	37	11	4
Culture of coexistence	144	52	6	3
Respect to religions and members of religion	140	44	13	7
Politicians of Turkish origin are favour of tolerance and dialogue	91	89	13	12
Religious leaders of Turkish origin are favour of tolerance and dialogue	93	88	16	8
Civil society organizations of Turkish origin are favour of tolerance and dialogue	102	85	9	8

The answers given to the question: “*What do you think are the most important dynamics of European Turkish society has in terms of tolerance and dialogue?*” are listed on Table 16. According to this, the rate of people who think that the culture of tolerance by European Turkish society (loving the created because of the Creator) is a very important dynamic is 75% (153 people). Approximately 70% (144 people) consider the “culture of coexistence” and 68% (143 people) “respect to religions and members of religion” which the European Turkish society have as important dynamics. Politicians and religious leaders of Turkish origin are in favour of tolerance and dialogue and that they play an important role in mutual understanding and friendship is 44% (91 people) and 45% (93 people). The Turkish civil society organizations have the culture of tolerance and dialogue that is another important dynamic in providing the social peace and living together. According to this, 50% (102 people) of the respondents believe that the Turkish civil society organizations have an important role in providing the social peace and order. European Turkish society has a population over 5 million within the multicultural European nations and it has a culture of tolerance and coexistence, which is one of the basic dynamics of dialogue. Turkish-Islamic thinker and poet Yunus Emre’s (1240-1321) important saying “*We love the created for the Creator’s sake*” in his poem is far beyond today’s individual centered humanist discourses. “*Discourse of love*” by Yunus Emre which suggests an approach with love and compassion to all living and dead things is nourished from the life of Prophet of Islam and Qur’an.

Another important dynamic is the ability of belief based movements within the Turkish society to organize and mobilize their people around common values. Belief based movements try to put the spiritual side and worldview of intra group individuals on a solid ground; and they also protect their base against individual and social problems. The existence of Turkish Islamic movements which are open to democracy, human rights, pluralism and dialogue within Europe is an important barrier in front of the radical understandings that find September 11 correct. On the other hand, the promotion of the religious leaders of Turkish Islamic movements for establishing dialogue with the members of other religions and to cooperate for the solution of common problems is another important dynamic.

Figure 15. Which community or communities are more open and willing to intercultural dialogue and integration where you live in?



The answers given to the question; *‘Which community or communities are more open and willing to intercultural dialogue and integration in your country where you live in?’* is replied ‘Turkish community’ by %48 (53 people) of German-Turks, %29 (16 people) of Belgian-Turks and %25 (10 people) Dutch-Turks. On the contrary, *‘the host communities* are seen more open and willing to intercultural dialogue and integration by %7 (8 people) of Turkish respondents in Germany, %16 (9 people) of Turkish respondents in Belgium and %25 (10 people) of Turkish respondents in the Netherlands. When selected country differences are not considered, about %39 (79 people) of all respondents see *‘Turkish community’*, %33 (67 people) of all respondents see *‘both Turkish community and host communities’* and %13 (27 people) of all respondents see *‘the host communities’* more open and willing to intercultural dialogue and integration (See Figure 15). On the other hand, about %35 (25 people) of the Turkish respondents who were born in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands (71 people) and %40 (54 people) of the Turkish respondents who were born in Turkey (134 people) see ‘Turkish community’ more open and willing to intercultural dialogue and integration. About %39 (52 people) of the Turkish respondents who have at least college or university level (134 people) see ‘Turkish community’ and %31 (41

people) of the respondents who have at least college or university level see ‘both communities’ more open and willing to intercultural dialogue and integration in Europe.

Why the Turkish immigrants in Germany consider themselves more open and tending to dialogue and harmony than the host society? The most important reason is the adaptation policies in Germany that include institutional exclusion and discrimination. In Germany, tolerance about diversity is not so well developed and the foreigners are excluded from the political processes and the public sphere. But, today, as cultural diversity is increasing, pluralism, dialogue and open mindedness have become indispensable facts in almost all Western societies. Intercultural dialogue is one of the main tools for permanent freedoms, social welfare and tolerance; and it is also indispensable for the minorities which are a part of the Western societies. Lack of dialogue with the host societies will turn the doubts and prejudices about Muslims permanent and increase the introversive socialization. But, strengthening and sustaining the acquisitions in the fiftieth year of migration through intercultural dialogue will be in benefit of the Turkish society. Also, if both parties understand and recognize each other with open minded, unprejudiced and dialogue based approaches and thereby solving the problems is the result of common sense. On the other hand, intercultural dialogue and being open and willing to harmony also contribute to the struggle of Turkish society and the host societies with extremism and fanaticism.

According to the observation of Thranhardt (1999), the Netherlands is accepted as a multicultural, tolerant and respectful country to diversity (cited by Tol, 2012: 305). The Netherlands promotes the coexistence of different ethnic/religious groups by democratic and pluralist policies and regulations. Also, the criteria to become a citizen in Belgium and the Netherlands are much easier than Germany, which helps the Turkish immigrants in those countries to socialize more and give more importance to communication and dialogue. On contrary, the introversive tendency of European governments, their protective economy policies, unjust social security policies and aim to establish more homogenous cultures by strengthened national identity building harm the culture of coexistence. The

statements of a respondent in Germany about the stance of Turkish society on understanding each other show another problem:

'I don't think that the Turks in Europe can adequately express themselves. They hide behind problems such as xenophobia and discrimination and pull themselves out in the first opportunity. This is not relevant for everyone, but unfortunately more than half is doing this. Therefore none of the sides take a step to know each other... For instance, we keep ourselves distant due to the linguistic problems. If you decide to live in a country, you have to know to speak the language of that country at least to express yourself. We keep on blaming the other side and do not question ourselves.' (Male, aged 36-50 years, Germany).

Table 17. What do you think is correct or wrong of the statements about coexistence below?

Temel Tespitler	Correct (f)	Wrong (f)	No idea (f)
Whatever my religion and culture means to me is the same for the religions and cultures of others to them	196	4	5
If the things I value are worthy, so others' values are worth to respect	198	4	3
My ideas are as true and valuable as his/her ideas	175	21	9
Everyone should think in the same way, live in the same way, there should be no diversities and we should not have any opposition	16	184	5
An ethnic or religious identity or ideology should not be imposed for European Turkish society, and also their diversities should not be neglected	161	25	19
To live together, before everything, there should be a common ground to live and agree	195	5	5
We should accept that anything we want, think or consider as a right for ourselves should also be possessed by others	192	8	5
We have to abide to Western style cohesion in order to succeed the coexistence in Europe	21	169	15
Living together is only possible with combination on equal and equivalent conditions in Europe	164	26	15

Western societies have been invaded nearly by foreigners	20	159	26
Purpose of live together is assimilating foreigners in eyes of the European	98	76	31
Discrimination is increasing and becoming normal every day in Europe	153	31	21

The question of “*What do you think is correct or wrong of the statements about coexistence below?*” has been analyzed without country differences are not considered. The statements that the respondents consider as correct or wrong sheds light about future predictions for the enhancement and sustaining of the culture of coexistence. 96% (196 people) of the all respondents have considered the statement “*whatever my religion and culture means to me is the same for the religions and cultures of others to them*” as a must for coexistence. And also about 97% (198 people) comment that “*if the things I value are worthy, so others’ values are worth to respect*” and 85% (175 people) comment that “*my ideas are as true and valuable as his/her ideas*” are as “correct”. On the other hand, statements such as “*everyone should think in the same way, live in the same way, there should be no diversities and we should not have any opposition*” was considered as “wrong” by 90% (184 people) and “*we have to abide to a Western style cohesion in order to succeed the coexistence in Europe*” was considered as wrong by 82 % (169 people). The following statements “*Western societies have been invaded nearly by foreigners*” and “*purpose of live together is assimilate foreigners in eyes of the European*” are interpreted as “wrong” by approximately %78 (159 people) and %37 (76 people) of all respondents (See Table 17).

The respondents have supported the statements below with very high rates. “*An ethnic or religious identity or ideology should not be imposed for European Turkish society, and also their diversities should not be neglected*” (79%, 161 people); “*To live together, before everything, there should be a common ground to live and agree*” (95%, 195 people). Both approaches above comply with the understanding “*to be aware of the differences without imposing them on anyone*”.

Approximately 94% (192 people) of all respondents has thought that it was “correct” to say “*we should accept that anything we want, think or consider as a right for ourselves should also be possessed by others*”. About 80% (164 people) have thought that saying “*Living together in Europe is only possible with combination on equal and equivalent conditions*” is correct and 75% (153 people) have thought the same thing about “*discrimination in Europe is increasing and becoming normal every day*” (See Table 17). A common point for the Turkish respondents is that they see the culture of coexistence as an opportunity to diminish the possible conflicts, tensions and polarizations in the future. A common point of these evaluations is having respect to an individual’s idea and honor, providing coexistence as equal individuals, respecting the freedom of religion and conscience and developing the culture of tolerance. Mahinur Özdemir is the first representative with a headscarf who has been elected for the Belgian Parliament, and she is a perfect example that differences in Europe can exist in harmony.

The respondents have contributed to with their own ideas a lot while answering the question “*Do you think that Turks living in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands have a role to disable the thesis of Clash of Civilizations at least in Western societies?*”. We have to say that only a few of the respondents have said that this role was “much exaggerated”. And another part of them have said that the role mentioned might have a decreasing effect on discrimination and polarization between the societies, but it does not have an effect that would totally diminish it. On the other hand, majority of the respondents think that the Turkish society has such a role more than other ethnic and religious minority groups. Answers to his question can be put as follows, considering the variables such as gender, age and country:

‘Definitely yes, I believe that mutual tolerance and understanding in my environment is very strong. I think that both societies have passed through adapting to each other and now they are at the process of understanding each other. I do not know how long (how many centuries) this process would last but it is sure that in the end of this process the other society will not be considered as “other one” but as “one of us”, “a society that makes us as we are”. Today, this

is only partial and still not adapted by the majority. The side that adapts this understanding is the mass that sees “individual of the globe” and who has a positive attitude towards cultural enrichment.” (Male, aged 36-50 years, the Netherlands)

Dialogue between cultures and religions is an indispensable requirement for societies today. The peaceful and harmonious coexistence of ethnic and religious diversities and differences is the guarantee of transfer of historical and cultural enrichments to the new generations. In pluralist societies, where differences have a unifying factor, the borders drawn to define the “other” will also be passed through. Therefore, Turks in Europe require the dialogue and cooperation in Europe and they are candidates to be the representatives of social harmony and dialogue at least in the societies they live. On the other hand, being superior or inferior to the others in democratic pluralist societies is not a result of an understanding of diversity. Instead of this, the opinion of a respondent who thinks that respect to every opinion and just treatment is an important element of coexistence is very crucial:

‘European countries consider themselves as superior in many aspects and they don’t accept that dialogue with developing and undeveloped countries would contribute. But I believe that the Turkish society in Europe has a great significance to diminish the thesis of clash of civilizations. Dialogue activities are the results of this’ (Female, aged 36-50 years, Belgium).

According to Tariq Ramadan (2005), European Muslims with Islamic values should defend the democratic values, human rights and supremacy of law, which will eventually help the development of pluralist society. Active participant Muslims who cope with democratic rules and have self confidence will contribute to the development of dissemination of Islamic culture of tolerance throughout Europe. The development and dissemination of Islamic culture of tolerance in Europe depends on successful examples Muslims will show in socio-cultural, economic, educational and political areas. The existence of ethnic and religious groups in USA, Canada and many Western European countries is the indicator that unifying common value is stronger than discriminative differences. In the study published by the European Council, *‘Living Together as Equals in Dignity’*

concepts such as democracy, human rights, basic freedoms, supremacy of law, pluralism, tolerance, indiscrimination and mutual respect are counted as the common values that develop the culture of diversity. The richness of ethnic and religious minorities plays an important role in acquiring and continuing these common values. A respondent says:

'There are things that the Turks in Europe have to do. They have to prepare the ground for the Western civilization to rebuild the values it had lost a long time ago. Help, "service without any expectations" and "loving the created because of the Creator" are some contributions of Turks can do. In this process, it will be more efficient to work with Europeans who are against the clash of civilizations.'
(Male, aged 51-65 years, the Netherlands).

Some respondents who think that the European Turkish society has a role to contribute to interreligious and intercultural dialogue at least in the societies they reside, but with some conditions remind these:

'It is impossible to completely disable the Clash of Civilizations thesis. But, with the developments and transformations we can show by self-criticizing, we can provide the social unity... On the other hand, as long as the perception of "other" by Europeans continues to be ethnocentric, there will be no fruitful results.'
(Male, aged 36-50 years, Germany).

'Yes, I do. But this needs time and it cannot be solved by one side only. But I believe that the Turks in Europe have an important mission. It is another problem how much they are aware of this, or how much they own this as a mission.'
(Female, aged 19-35 years, Germany).

'... Maybe not today, but the physical conditions in the future will force the European societies for inter-civilization and cultural dialogue. Increasing immigrant population, aging European population and decreasing workforce, developing communications and the rise of qualification in the next generations will force the Europeans for coexistence.' (Male, aged 51-65 years, the Netherlands).

Helping the both parties to get rid of prejudices and a struggle for supremacy, developing a culture of self-criticism, accepting that dialogue is a long-term and

multi-sided action, creating awareness, and making the Western societies understand that the interreligious and intercultural difference is a necessity are the points emphasized by all three respondents. It is predicted that, if a permanent and common attitude is developed, both the Western and the European Turkish society might struggle together against clash of civilizations, fanaticism, radicalism, intolerance, racism and Islamophobia.

5.8. Radicalism

Especially after the September 11 terrorist attacks, we know that the Western countries and public opinion have acted with prejudice and problematic attitudes towards the Muslim minorities. Western societies and states have evaluated Islam in a monolithic framework and perceived it as a threat to the Western civilization (Kaya and Kentel, 2005). How realistic is the Western public opinion's threat perception and fear? Do the Western societies have no responsibility in the appearance of global terror today, which also threatens Islam and Islamic tradition? How will the prejudice and fear in the West shape the adaptation or otherization of Muslim minorities? In what level do Xenophobia, racism and Islamophobia in Western societies affect the radical tendencies among the Muslim minorities? The data acquired from the respondents indicate that European Turkish society has internalized the Turkish-Islamic tradition and Islamic understanding, and they remain distant to radical and fanatic ideas in general. During the process of adaptation which has been going on for the last fifty years, the search for an identity by the European Turkish diaspora has an intergenerational diversity. Radical, ethnic and religious movements tended to violence are not accepted by the majority of Turkish Diaspora (Perşembe, 2005: 284). In this part, the analysis of the specific point among the European Turkish society in terms of radical tendencies and the processes that nourish these radical tendencies will be conducted with the data from the respondents. On the other hand, one of the points that make this study unique is that it takes the pulse of European Turkish society in a time when sectarian wars are intensified in Syria and Iraq.

Fanaticism and radical tendencies, even though they are effective only on a small part of the Muslim minorities in the West, are seriously harming the social

compromise and living together. The most astonishing result of this is the participation of hundreds of voluntary warriors from European capitals and other parts of the world to ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) which appeared in Syria and threatens the Middle East. According to the intelligence reports of European countries and Turkish National Police, hundreds of volunteers from Turkey and from European Turkish society have joined ISIS. The militants joining the ISIS from England, France and Germany have religious sensitivities and a search for “injustice”, which highly motivates their decision to become a warrior. The reactions of these militants to the policies of Western countries and to the Islamic regimes in the Middle East are very effective in their decision to join ISIS. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the visions of Muslim women and children who die in these conflicts and the attitudes and policies of Muslim countries that do not react to these events increase the fanaticism and radicalism among the Muslims. According to the report prepared in June 2014 by “Soufan Group”, one of the prominent security research companies in USA, majority of the militants who have joined ISIS are the young people aged 18-29 years and people who have later became Muslims (Barrett, 2014). So, the return of those militants to the EU countries and the potential existence of the radicals who have not fought yet are threat for the security.

In Germany, there are approximately 3 million Turks and there is a sample and projection of Turkish religious communities. DITIB is bound to official state institution of Turkey, the Turkish Islamic Union of the Religious Affairs Directorate, and is organized around mosque associations; also political Islamist Milli Görüş (National Viewpoint) Movement and Suleymancılar (the Association of Islamic Cultural Centers/VIKZ) with their Qur'an courses and education activities are some examples in Germany. One of them is official and the other two private; and the speeches, Friday speeches and religious conversations are always in Turkish. As the average of age who attends the mosque is high, the religious officials prefer Turkish; which causes a lack of communication between the young generations and their religion. Young generations, who cannot receive a real and correct religious education, are easily affected by marginal and fanatic groups. These young people join the Wahhabi and Selaifi organizations with a

conservative and solid Islamic understanding and they experience a cultural clash with their families and friends by time. Children of low income families, who could not complete their socialization process and experiencing a cultural clash with their families, join groups in which they can easily express themselves and have an identity. Intra family violence, murders, violence at schools, ethnic or cultural ghettos, fanaticism, alienation and isolation, gambling, alcohol and drugs appear as a result of radicalization and threaten Turkish family structure, democratic pluralism and peace. Mahmut Aşkar, Main Advisor to the ATIB President and Foreign Affairs Director, voices his concerns:

‘Religion based cultures and civilizations after the Cold War have resulted with a clash of civilizations whenever it is needed. In such a period, we are very concerned with some extreme “Islamic” ideas such as Salafism or Wahhabism to find participants among the Turkish youth. The exclusion of the host societies also increases the chance of radical groups. We always try to tell people the dangers of this and emphasize the importance of families’ and civil society organizations’ role in taking care of these young people.’

Radical Salafism and Wahhabi groups are giving religious education in German, French and Dutch, being active in various fields. The Sunni Islam and the moderate Muslim youth are under the threat of Salafi radicalism. Interestingly, the representatives of radical Salafi and Wahhabi ideologies appear on local and national TV channels and radios very frequently. This ideology which tries to spread the fundamentalist, conservative and traditionalist Islam through mass media, harms the real and enlightened aspect of Islam. According to researcher Cemil Şahinöz, newly Muslims (Germans and other Europeans) are affected from the messages of these marginal and fanatic groups and turn into conservative and radical ideas. In 2012, as a part of “Read” campaign conducted by Salafis in Germany, their initiative to distribute Qur’an for free every weekend had reactions from the majority of Muslims and the prominent communities of the Islamic tradition. This provocative activity began with the slogan of “Making every German have a Quran in his house”, which was top of the agenda in Germany for weeks and put the Muslims under suspicion. According to Şahinöz (2013: 46-48), the polarization of the country with projects that require high amount of resources

in Germany where only 5.000 Salafis are living, brings into mind that there are other plans and scenarios.

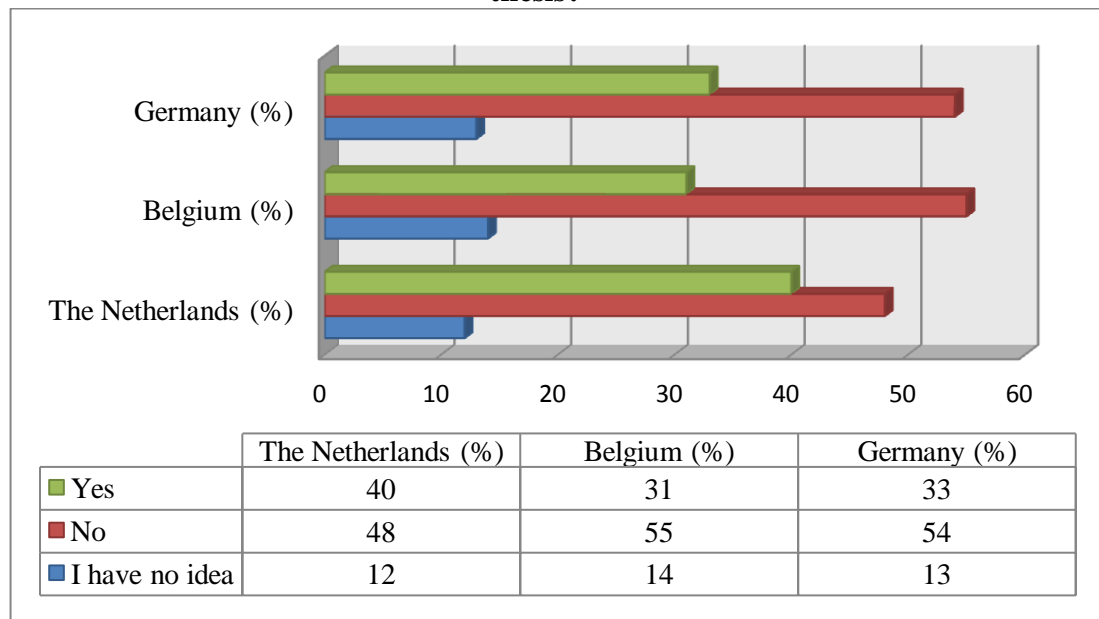
All the great civilizations and cultures have struggled with radicalism in every period. But especially, the radicalism which appeared in Muslim countries recently and effected the world at global level, has been exploited by those who have predicted the clash of civilizations. But, the polarizations in our world do not stem from religious and cultural reasons, but mainly from economic and political ones. When S. Huntington (2006: 33) defines civilizations, he separated the Western civilization into two variants such as Europe and North America; but separated the civilization of Islam into subdivisions such as Arabic, Turkish and Malaysian. Huntington referred to the historical interaction between West and Islam, and claimed that the search for Western democracy in Arab counties has strengthened the political powers that are completely against the West. Huntington also claimed that the migration from North Africa to Western Europe has sharpened the political sensitivities in Western societies. He also emphasized that racism increased in some of the Western countries, and the reaction and violence against Arabs and Turks have become very intensive since 1990s. According to Huntington, interactions among different civilizations strengthen the memory and knowledge of the humanity in terms of different civilizations, but it will also revive the historical conflicts and hatred. In his article “*The Clash of Civilizations?*”, which was published in 1993, Huntington warned that;

‘I assume that the real source of struggle in this new world will not be ideological nor economic. Great divisions within the humanity and the dominant source struggle will be culture. Nation-states will still be the strongest actors in the events of the world, but the real clash in global politics will appear among groups and nations from different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate the global politics’ (Huntington, 2006: 23).

According to Huntington (1996: 217), “*The real problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is a civilization which made the people believe he superiority of their own culture and inadequacy of their power, Islam.*” According to John Esposito (2003: 156-159), this prejudice of Huntington has targeted Islam

itself. Neither the Islamic world nor West are solid. As the history of Islam clearly indicates, mainstream Islam has always rejected the radicals and terrorists. Attacks of September 11 and the global threat by Al-Qaeda have revived the reflex of “clash of civilizations”. According to Kirman (2005: 78-81), in the background of violence and terror, there are some dependent variables such as religion, politics, social structure and economics.

Figure 16. Do you generally believe the truth of the ‘Clash of Civilizations’ thesis?



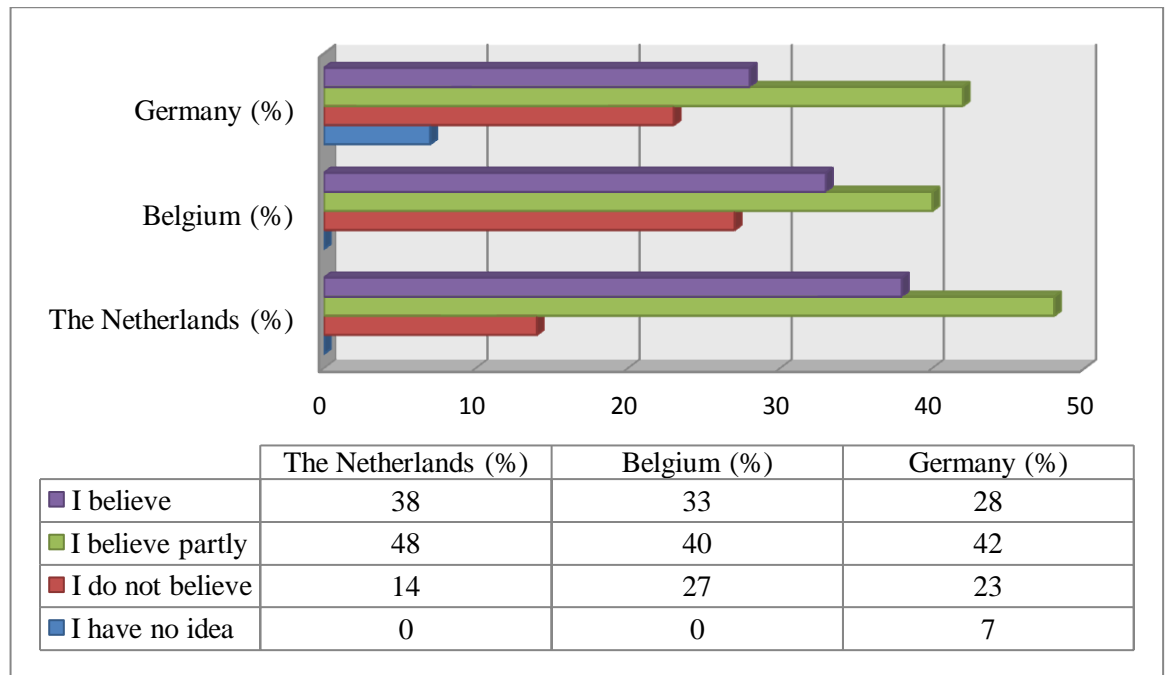
Answers given to the question “Do you generally believe the truth of the ‘Clash of Civilizations’ thesis?” was “No” by 54% (59 people) of Turks in Germany, 55% (30 people) by Turks in Belgium and 48% (19 people) by Turks in the Netherlands. About 53% (108 people) of the Turks living in Europe do not believe the thesis of “clash of civilization” by S. Huntington (See Figure 16). On the other hand, 33% (32 people) of the female respondents (96 people) believe in “Clash of Civilizations” thesis, and 49% (47 people) do not. On the contrary, approximately 34% (37 people) of the male respondents (109 people) think that the concept of clash is realistic, and 56% (61 people) of the male respondents do not think so. And also 37% (26 people) of the respondents (71 people) who were born and grown up in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands believe in the reality of “Clash of Civilizations”, but 55% (39 people) do not. About 32% (43 people) of

the respondents (134 people) who were born in Turkey think that the concept of clash is realistic, but about 52% (69 people) do not.

As the opportunities of education and communication have increased, Turks had more chance to acquire the correct information and they do not foresee any clash between the Islam and Western civilizations in the near future. As a response to the reaction towards the appearance and visibility of Muslims in the West, accepting the differences and respect also increases in those same societies. On the other hand, the understanding by the Western world that Islamic radicalism and fanaticism is not accepted by the majority of Muslims, is a result of correct information. The building peace and dialogue in the world can only be moved forward with education, interreligious and intercultural dialogue, democratic citizenship, social organization and pluralism. Common view about the relation between Islam and pluralism, secularism and civil society is that there is no controversy between these two concepts (Hefner, 2005: 2-4, Esposito and Yilmaz, 2014: 29-33). Therefore, the existence of Muslims in Western societies as equal citizens contributes to a pluralist and democratic environment. Muslims, with their unique characteristics, enrich the pluralist and democratic life of the West. The answer given by ATIB Main Advisor to President and Foreign Affairs Director Mahmut Aşkar to our interview question indicates that the European Turkish society has permanent relations:

“Clash of Civilizations” as predicted by S. Huntington will never happen between the European Turks and the societies of the host countries! Turks, throughout the history, have considered the land they settled as their home and never betrayed to the countries where they fed from. The idea of being from here is more relevant since the third generation of Turks...”

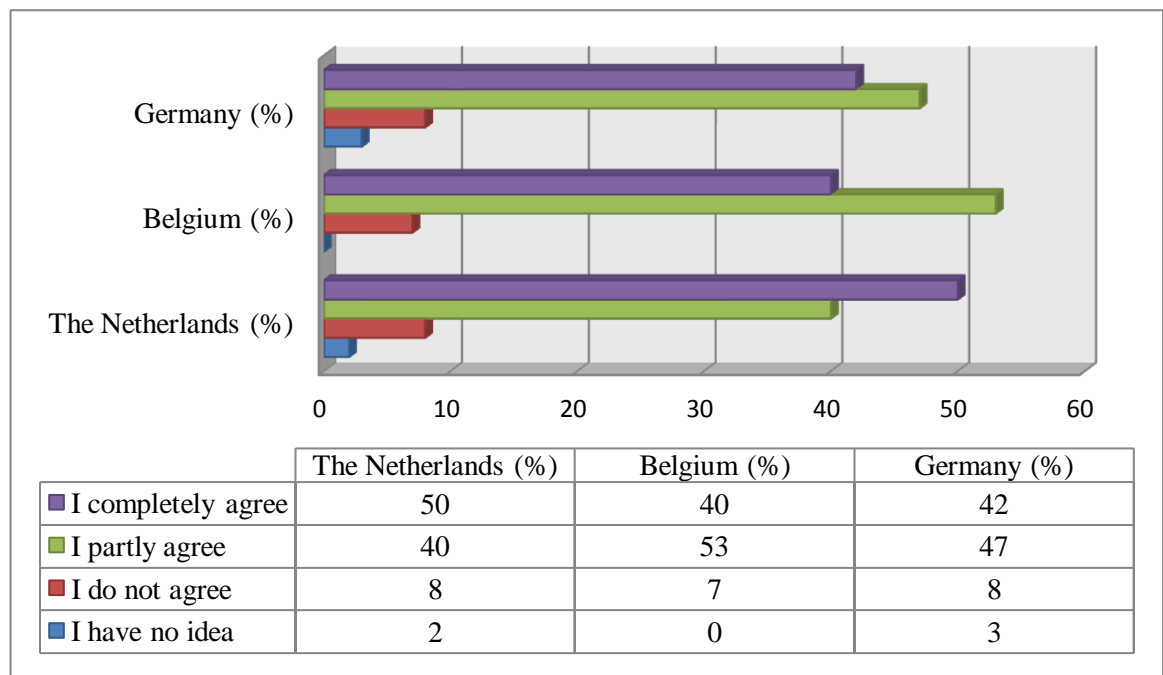
Figure 17. Do you believe that there is a clash of culture and religion between the European Turkish society and the Western societies?



Approximately 23% (25 people) of the Turks in Germany, 27% (15 people) of Turks in Belgium and 14% (6 people) of Turks in the Netherlands have answered “I do not believe” to the question; “*Do you believe that there is a clash of culture and religion between the European Turkish society and the Western societies?*”. The people who believed that there was a clash between two societies is 28% (31 people) in Germany, 33% (18 people) in Belgium and 38% (15 people) in the Netherlands. On the other hand, the percentage of the people who could not yet decide whether there is a clash of culture and religion in all three countries is almost about half of the respondents (See Figure 17). Many people today, who are aware of the real sources and messages of the religions, think those regional and ethnic conflicts that have happened before and today do not stem from religious and cultural differences; but from “non-religious” and “anti-religious” cultures and understandings. Both Western societies and the Muslims living in the West look very enthusiastic about a social life where dialogue and sustainable peace are possible. Therefore, religions should take responsibilities upon the common grounds that would help people to cooperate both in humanitarian and moral terms, and this will prevent the possible conflicts (Bulaç, 2007: 235-236). Besides, the idea of pluralism, which states that religion, culture, belief and opinions

should be together freely and equally, is rapidly developing within the Western societies as a result of the rising opportunities in education and communication. Respect to “other”, being aware of the differences and accepting those differences is the definition of pluralism and multiculturalism; and those ideas are the social grounds to prevent the distinctions between Islam and the West to turn into conflict.

Figure 18. Do you agree with the thesis that extreme nationalism, xenophobia and fear of Islam have increased in the European societies lately?



Another question was “*Do you agree with the thesis that extreme nationalism, xenophobia and fear of Islam have increased in the European societies lately?*?”. Turks in Germany have responded 42% (46 people) “I completely agree”; whereas the Turks in Belgium 40% (22 people) and Turks in the Netherlands by 50% (20 people). Rate of people who have partially agreed with this is 47% (52 people) of the respondents in Germany, 53% (29 people) of the respondents in Belgium and 40% (16 people) of the respondents in the Netherlands. On the other hand, 90% (185 people) of all of the respondents completely or partially agree that there is extreme nationalism, xenophobia and fear of Islam within the European societies (See Figure 18). Abolishment of the national borders and making the European integration permanent, seeing Brussels as the solution to all the problems have

turned the extreme rightist parties and movements an indispensable part of the continental Europe. Extreme right aims to reunite their countries culturally and politically and seems to have a common idea about the issues such as Islamophobia and sending back the immigrants. The xenophobia and fear of Islam that can mostly be seen in the lower social classes of the Western societies has caused an aggressive and extreme nationalism and a potential racism. Extreme right groups and parties are trying to create their social basis by social messages such as “*strangers who are not from us*”, “*foreigners who take our jobs*” and “*dirty/disordered/lazy foreigners*”. It is not a coincidence for the Europeans to direct their xenophobia after the end of the Cold War, when their historical enemy communism and Soviet Union was gone (Çevik, 1992). With the extreme efforts of the racist and radical movements in Europe, September 11 attacks have caused the image of Muslims in the West to be diminished. Therefore, Islam has long been misunderstood and misinterpreted in the West. In spite of the educational and technological developments of the West, Islam is the least known and most misunderstood religion in the West (Ahmed, 2011: 18).

Table 18. The Reasons/Situations below that Effect the Increase of Nationalism, Xenophobia and Islamophobia in European Nations

The Reasons/Situations	Very effective (f)	Effective (f)	Less effective or no effective (f)
Economic problems and worries about unemployment	94	82	29
Media publications and disinformation	165	33	7
September 11 (2001) and similar terror events	147	38	20
Lack of self-expression of Muslims after the terror events	97	52	56
Propaganda and campaigns on social media and internet	78	73	54
Nationalist or discriminative attitudes or behaviour of politics or religious figures	140	51	14
Spread of Islam in Western nations	41	113	51

Increase of the foreign population by births and immigrating	34	127	44
Problems about integration of the immigrants to society and lack of communication	118	64	23
Oppressive behaviours of strict regimes in Islam world	63	58	84
Loss of status and worry of security by the host nations	72	103	30

The answers given by the respondents are in Table 18 *to the question; ‘ Which reasons/situations below that effect the increase of nationalism, xenophobia and Islamophobia in European nations by the order of its importance?’*. In fact the main object of this question of this question is the citizens of the host communities, but the sample group of this study is European Turkish community. The opinions in Table 18 are the opinions of the people from Turkey and the objects of the racism and discrimination or so-called ‘*the other*’ (there are some who does not see them as others). The respondents answered as ‘*very effective*’ with 80% (165 people) the ‘*media publications and disinformation*’, with 72% (147 people) the ‘*September 11 and similar terror events*’, with 68% (140 people) ‘*nationalist or discriminative attitudes or behavior of politics or religious figures*’ and with 58% (118 people) the ‘*problems about integration of the immigrants to society and lack of communication*’. On the other hand 62% (127 people) of the respondents answered as ‘effective’ to ‘*the increase of the foreign population by births and immigrating*’, 55% (113 people) answered as ‘*spread of Islam in Western nations*’ and 50% (103 people) answered as ‘*loss of status and worry of security by the host nations*’ to the question about the reasons of racism, hostility and fear.

We can sequence the reasons of increasing xenophobia, racism, Islamophobia and nationalism especially after September 11 terror events such as: 47% (97 people) of the respondents answered as ‘*lack of self-expression of Muslims after the terror event*’, 46% (94 people) of the respondents answered as ‘*economic problems and worries about unemployment*’, 38% (78 people) answered as ‘*propagandas and campaigns on social media and internet*’ and 31% (63 people) answered as

‘oppressive behaviors of strict regimes in Islam world’ . These are the ‘very effective’ reasons of discrimination and alienation was indicated by the participants. As a result, reasons of why the householders see minorities as the ‘other’ can be sequenced as the increasing of Muslim population, increasing unemployment rates due to the global economic crises, consisted ghettos, coherence problems and ethnical or religious radicalizations.

Ayten Kılıçarslan, who is a Teaching Assistant in Essen University Germany, expresses the Turks’ attitude and behavior against increasing nationalism, hostility to foreigners and Islam phobia in Europe with this statement;

‘... During this period, there are some radical groups which prefers to stay controlled and expressive but also there are some specific people and companies tries to create a new public opinion and a new paradigm and not to leave the area to those radical groups. This new way is not going to be an eastern way but will be completely arisen in Europe and has a European comprehension and brings explanation to the events in these frames. Muslims will create their own terminology, will create ‘you’ before me perception and by the time they will create a self-esteemed generation who does not react aggressive and tries to make a public opinion can make contribution and react offensive but not defensive... Hostility against Muslims will help them to create a self-esteemed Muslim identity...’

According to Kılıçarslan, especially hostility against Muslims, will react opposite way and help Muslims to create self-esteemed personalities and give direction to the society to they live in and a basic perception which give them collective personalities. On the other hand, for the last half century, Muslims from Turkish origin who lives in Western societies already began to show these characteristics. Even though reduction on birth rates, increasing divorce rates, increasing education levels and skilled working class and such data are similar to household nations, there no significant positive change about discrimination and alienation behaviors. Even though the nations or the minority groups differ, some habits continue. But especially the third and the fourth generation of immigrants

improve their language, education and economic levels so they seem to force the Western nations to live in equal standards with them. Even though some politics and media organs make populist speech against immigrants and keep on cliché, we can say that mutual tolerance and understanding is getting stronger and people are not in the getting used to each other anymore but in understanding each other level.

In Europe today, Western people think that their own identities will stay in strict blockage and they can look forward to a bright future through a new social identity the 'other' which was given to the foreigners. Even though European nations differ between them, they all think that their own identities are so fragile and vulnerable against other cultural identities. Western societies try to reinforce their so-called fragile and vulnerable identities by creating an 'other' image. Therefore any kind of 'national identity' or 'European identity' takes place against this other ethnic/religious identity. (Budak, 2008:59-60) The reason that European Union doesn't end our appliance is that Turkey's Muslim identity is an 'other' for them. On the other hand, the 'other' concept which exists in the European popular culture and also in its orientalist past is an 'other' concept that they created in their own minds (Said, 1979). Today, the main danger of putting Islam in to an 'other' concept is actually about being careless about dividing societies in to opponent groups. The minority 'other' is not only a socially correct and natural concept but also source of the cultural creativity. September 11 tragedy shouldn't bet a reason for concrete Islamophobia but should be a chance to show 'embracing' in American tradition. Those who use the term 'clash of civilizations' must get away from public speech before they begin to believe it (Bulliet, 2007:18).

On the other hand, in Europe general, extreme right and nationalist parties are using statements against immigrants and immigration and mobilize people against new immigrants and immigrations. And also these parties support the idea of existing immigrants to leave their own cultures and get assimilated in to theirs or leave their country. (Wets, 2006: 85-86). Between 1917 and 1990s, the Soviet Union and communism were the 'other', buy by the collapse of these ideas;

Western world began to search for new fear and danger points. Capitalist system tried to fill the space of 'other' after the collapse of communism, with Islam hatred and hostility. Henry Kissinger and Samuel Huntington wrote thesis about Islam and put it in to 'opposite civilization' concept and placed in a different category. After the Cold War, S. Huntington's thesis 'Clash of Civilizations' which was an analyze of Islam, but it was actually a sequel of orientalist paradigm (Nişancı and Çaylak, 2010: 230-231).

Today an important amount of Muslim Population represents Islam for the first time in history. If we say it generally, 1/3 of the Muslims live as minority today (Roy, 2013: 54-55). The immigration and immigrants problems such as integration, assimilation, radicalism are still exist but they are being reshaped according to globalism and modernism. Unemployment, discrimination, Islam hostility and such conceptual problems come up lately, are causing important problems among young generations and will be at the future. Young generations appealed to gambling, alcohol, drugs, being introverted and fanaticism instead of taking realistic steps about living in harmony. On the other hand, royalty to the 'old' one and willing to have the 'new' one caused an unconscious challenge on generations and identity. Young ones reacted in different ways related to their conditions, such as being marginalize, ethnic awareness and being Islamic. Young people, who couldn't reverse their disadvantages to advantage, choose to break the laws or try to force the limits to find a way out. Ethnic and religious alienation spared young people from their own nations and because they couldn't integrate even at minimum level to the settled nation, they feel purposeless. Even though friends are social and psychological shelter for them, they are also a place to get inconvenient behaviors (Canatan, 1990: 42-50). Therefore young people who are the object of 'out casting and non-accepting by society' psychology, react against the dominant culture and getting radical. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Unver, the Islamic Foundation of the Netherlands (HDV) President of Executive Board and the Hague (Den Haag) Religious Service Counselor, summarized the precautions against radicalism in Turkish nation:

“We as HDV and religion employees, advice to young people and all community to be tolerant, peaceful, being ethical, educated and humanity with an good neighborhood and good friendship concept, and advise them to stay away any kind of extreme opinion and trend and tell them about the reasons. Lately we published a message “Youth against Violence and War” in both in Turkish and in Dutch”

European Turkish nation faced the change in attitude, concept and social relations since the first years of immigration. The European-Turkish diaspora, has an increasing socio-economic level constantly, developed positive behaviors about living together and socio-cultural relations. But after September 11 (2001) and the other terrorist attacks in Western, just like the all other Muslims, migrants of Turkish origin were also objected as ‘other’ and the source of fear and worry. Identifying the Muslims with global terrorism makes a psychological oppression on majority and makes the small traditional reaction groups more marginal. The mistake of the Western world is that they can’t see the difference between violence and terror groups and Muslims (Esposito, 2009). Since Karl Marx, most of the social scientists state that religion is a handicap for social change and improvement (Thompson, 2004: 52-56). In fact the radicalism that turns religion to a social ideology and makes it conservative against improvement is the main handicap in front of socio-cultural change and improvement. Therefore some of the Muslims reacted protective against ‘other’ concept (Onat, 2001: 9-24), but this is because of the some conservative and radical religious groups acting traditional ways. ‘Arab- Israel conflict’ and ‘Western world’s imperialist colonial concept’ and such as political and cultural factors, can be indicated as the main reason of violence of the radical religious groups. (Kirman, 2005: 80-81). Two basic source of Islam religion; verses of Quran and words of the Islam’s Prophet, are being interpreted in a wrong way and this is a reason of violence those radical religious groups. Religious radicalism uses the sources of religion and religious sources to direct people to a violent way. Therefore religious radicalism uses religious, political and cultural statements to legitimate violence and terror.

CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Although there are a lot of efforts in both national and international arena to keep a pluralist life style, there are elements every time against pluralist life style and democratic pluralism. There are some Islamic radical groups, which doesn't have any tolerance even for the different sects in Islam itself, are killing and slaughtering innocent civilians in barbaric ways in Syria and Iraq. Israel is killing innocent people and destroying houses in Gaza in front of the world's eyes. In Myanmar, a country Southeast Asian, Buddhist Priests personally provoke public opinion against Muslims. Even though there is peace and banning to kill people in the essences of all religions and beliefs, every time there are some illiberal groups interpret religion in a narrow minded way and act violent. Narrow mind and extreme behaviors which are never stated in the essence of any religion or ancient culture, can cause violence and murder and also isolated people can appeal this way. The saddest example for isolated people/groups violence is the slaughter in Norway in 2011 which is one of the wealthiest countries. Today, the pain or the joy of an oppressed one or a victim can be televised by mass communication devices all over the world. We may still have hope for humanity if all these pains and joys are being shared by all different people. Because there is no language, religion or nationality for pain and joy, therefore if the joy and pain is common so the future is common. Finally, understanding that we are all first human beings before our religion, language, color or ideas, will be a good start point to create a mutual understanding and improving dialogue.

Especially, from the second half of the twentieth century, a global dialogue began between religions and cultures. It's been understood that dialogue is necessary for mutual respect and tolerance and therefore a lot of attempts began. One of the most important global steps which were taken to make a dialogue between is '*Alliance of Civilizations*' project between Turkey and Spain governments. '*Alliance of Civilizations*' project was implemented in 2005 and at the same time was a United Nations initiative, is being supported by over 100 United Nations member countries and international corporations which is called as '*Friends Group*'. But it is clear that the steps taken in the name of dialogue between

religion/religious people or cultures are not enough yet and path taken so far is not at desired level. Although all insufficiencies so far, the optimistic point is that awareness of ethnic/religious differences has begun.

Today many politicians, academician and think-tank in the west stay distant to the ideas that may cause violence in short or long term. There is an increasing number of the people who think that differences between global human values and ideal/religious based cultural living styles are our treasures. In this knowledge and technology era increasing number of people began to understand and accept each other instead of splitting up in to religious, ethnic and cultural groups. Especially in the last century because of transnational immigrations, a lot of nations began to have differences in their structure. We can say that statement '*Clash of Civilizations*' which states that religious and cultural differences cannot stay together, was just an effort to create an anti-Muslim and anti-foreigner public opinion in Western public. Therefore, this is a must for the nations to construct a national structure that gives priority to '*difference*' but not '*homogeneity*' (Vatandaş, 2002). This comprehensive study on European Turkish nation foresees that '*Clash of Civilizations*' statement is not valid for the European Turkish Nation and the Western nations that their householders. It's been foreseen that European Turkish Nation which has the inner and outer dynamics for living together with the Western nations, also has religion/religious people can take role in cultural dialogues. This study also foresees that the Islam which has tolerance, peace and compromise in its essence is not a threat to west but a preventing way of fanatic and radical stand. Therefore, it's been foreseen that Turkish-Islamic tradition has the dynamics to prevent radical and fanatic behaviors among people of Turkish-origin living in Europe.

According the data gathered from the respondents, people from Turkish origin mostly integrated to the host societies in each socio-economic, politic and cultural ways. People from Turkish origin, built bridges between homeland and countries they live in, integrated to the socio-economic and politic system of the country they live in. The year we left behind the fiftieth year of the immigration to Europe, we can say that immigrants from turkey are now customers and also new

producers and more settled in their host societies. People from Turkish origins, settled in West European countries, are social and integrated with the society because of their interactions with inner and outer sides of the groups. It's been foreseen that mutual respect and tolerance in social relations, will construct a more understanding, fair, humanitarian, harmonic and unprejudiced lifestyle in Europe in third millennium. Therefore, it's been also foreseen that people from Turkish origins, who have mutual interactions and dialogues, will help to create a mutual awareness and unprejudiced. On the other hand, Muslim Turk society who is an important part of Europe will help to create '*culture of living together*' by accepting liberal, equal, democratic values of west. Because people from Turkish origins consider themselves both Muslim and European at the same time and it's mostly possible them to make contribute to a pluralist life style. According to the data gathered from the respondents, Europe Turk society is having difficulties to accepting the pluralist democracy. In other words, Islam shapes the cultural identity of European Turk Society and also shapes the interactions between individuals.

The Turkish-Islamic originated movements and their pluralist values, will help to reduce monotony, polarization and prototype that will come in front of European Turkish society. Religious based movements in European Turkish society can be mobilized around a mutual purpose and can be socialized through the social communication connections. Briefly, the Turkish-Islamic movements are the most dynamic structures about the fourth generation European Turkish society's integration, localization, communication and application in ethic and spiritual ways. The Turkish-Islamic movements which don't have radicalism in the essence are a safe harbor for the young generations to help them not to attend any kind of radical fractions. On the other hand, the Turkish-Islamic movements and civil society organizations help to build a bridge between host societies and create deep friendships. Today, the Turkish migrants who are living in free, democratic countries of Europe give the message of Islam about tolerance, peace, pluralism, justice and improvement by using these civil society organizations. It's been foreseen that Turkish-Islamic movements will make an important effect on the future of European Turkish society. They do reference compromising but not

violence, pluralism but not conservatism, modern and civil religion but not radicalism. Therefore, interreligious and intercultural activities which are made by the Turkish-Islamic movements make important contributions for the active and democratic pluralism comprehension.

Today, ethnic, religious and cultural differences are still sources of conflicts threatening the future of societies. Accepting ethnical, religious and cultural differences as a part of democratic societies can only help to reduce the conflicts and separations to a minimum level. Also, differences of the democratic societies can be accepted as the essential part of them and can be added a deep conceptual integrity with concepts such as variety, multi-culture and pluralism. On the other hand, for a permanent integrity in the pluralist societies of Europe it is a must to respect religious, holly and cultural values. Using the freedom of self-expression for insulting to the other's values, is giving damage to self-expression itself. It is a democratic responsibility for Muslims to stay calm against insults to Islam and Islam's Prophet. Therefore, before a reaction against anti-Islam and anti-Muslim in west, a common lifestyle must be supported. Bhikhu Parekh (2002), pointed on the problems of the multicultural societies and advised a multicultural government policy. Well-known Indian politician, summarize the problems of multicultural societies; compromising the various demand for legitimate unity, being inclusive without being assimilating, creating a common belonging while respecting to cultural differences, creating pluralist identities without giving damage to personal identity. B. Parekh, claim that a social incorporation in England can be possible through loyalty to the universal values, equality, equity, dialogue, tolerance, compromise, giving space, respect to varieties, clearance from foreign hatred and racism (cited by Duman, 2011). Briefly, believe to establish an intercultural dialogue and communication to solve deep ethical and cultural conflicts in multicultural societies.

However it is wrong to make Muslims other for the Western societies, it is also wrong the Muslims introvert and cut communication with the fear of losing belief and identity. Because, in today's democratic and pluralist societies, common benefits and uniting politics began to take place instead of creating others

depending on beliefs, values and identities. We can consider such applications and politics like ‘conscience test’ which was taken for 5 years in Germany, only as a handicap in front of the cultural communication and dialogue. This ‘*conscience test*’ was only for citizenship candidates from Muslim countries, and it was against human rights and equality. Therefore we can mention about an ‘other’ concept in Western European countries foremost in Germany. It is a must to accept Islamophobia as a hate-crime like Anti-Semitism and make the necessary legal arrangements. As a result, Islamophobia, xenophobia, anti-immigrant behaviors create another concept and harm the social texture of pluralism and politic statements.

In the report ‘*Living Together as Equals in Dignity*’ published by ‘*the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*’⁷⁵ which is one the European Council’s Dialogue Projects, five basic approaches were indicated for intercultural dialogue in Europe. Those approaches were; democratic management of cultural variety, democratic citizenship and attendance, learning and teaching the intercultural knowledge, creating space for intercultural dialogue and prioritizing intercultural dialogue in international relations (The Council of Europe, 2008). Therefore, it is important to get a wide public support for implementation of these basic approaches of European council. European Union and members, national parliaments, local administrations, public institutions, civil society and university representatives, minority group’s representatives and media representatives and a civil wisdom committee can create a public opinion. With a long term work and wide attendance, ethnic and religious minorities and members in west can get respect that they deserve, mutual dialogue and tolerance can be gained, extreme right and racist speeches can be minimize and hatred topics can be handled.

The increasing of life satisfactions of disadvantageous minorities is a necessity for an understanding of justice that takes rights and freedoms to the center and social state as well. The European Turkish society is predicted to be the keepers of the constitutions, laws and public security of the countries they are living in. West has

⁷⁵ For more information about *the White Paper Report*, please see; http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/white%20paper_final_revised_en.pdf (13.05.2014).

to move away from its polarizing, discriminating and exclusive behavior. The European societies have to quit the otherizing and categorizing social engineering and discriminative reflexes immediately. Also, the minority groups have to find a way to communicate without prejudices. A change of logic is needed for the European Turkish society. The understanding that sees cultural exchange as corruption and loss of identity must be forgotten. It is seen that the individuals with low level of socio-economic status and low education levels pull themselves away from the social and public spheres of the countries they live in. Those individuals who move away from the dominant society become introversive and then turn into supporters of radical organizations. Both the institutions of host countries and the Turkish civil society organizations struggle with the radical and fanatic organizations through the social networks they have created. Especially the belief based movements develop many alternative projects to prevent the youth from bad habits such as drugs and alcohol. International organizations such as Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and the Arab Union should conduct more coordinated works with Western organizations about radicalism and fanaticism.

Western perception of Islamic world as a geography with diversities has an important role in disabling the historical prejudices and hostilities. On the other hand, Islamic world should also stop seeing the West as an enemy, which would help the development of humanitarian and social relations eventually. The religious sources and universal traditions of these two ancient civilizations carry on messages about dialogue rather than conflict. European continent is the place where Muslims and Christians are geographically living as close as possible; and this is the land where a culture of coexistence should be dominant. To seize this opportunity, a model of existence should be implemented where different cultures and identities accept each other with tolerance. We predict that different cultures/identities can live together by establishing a synthesis. In other words, transforming an identity in the multicultural Europe by oppression and assimilation is against the democratic culture and human rights. In short, the real richness of Europe's developed pluralist democracies is that they have multiple identities and cultures. Living in peace with those different sections of the society

depends on each party's recognition of the other and the implementation of communicative rationality. All of the differences in the Western democratic states can only speak freely with the help of multiculturalism and an understanding of cultural pluralism.

All the ethnic/religious minority groups today, including the millions of Muslims from Turkey, are the key actors in the test of Europe with the "other". Therefore, the coexistence of cultural, ethnic and religious differences will be a very important advantage for the future of the European societies. The future of the understanding of "Europe" and "Europeanism" which constantly constructs itself and has a dynamic structure will be shaped in accordance with its permission to "other" and its differences. It is an undeniable fact that the policies and attitudes built upon "Xenophobia" and "anti-Islamism" will eliminate the differences and cause assimilation. We can say that the Turkish immigrants, who are used and open to living together with differences, have the potential to accept the pluralist life and enhance it. The Turkish society has represented the understanding of "*Loving the created because of the Creator*" and it is predicted that they can take this liability again. The interreligious and intercultural activities implemented by religious and social groups lately indicate that the European Turkish society has the historical and cultural equipment open to dialogue. As a result, we believe that the European Turkish society can show the sample and practice that the similarities and differences can be lived together.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FORM IN TURKISH

Bu anket, Porto Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Bölümü'nde '**Almanya, Belçika ve Hollanda Türk Toplumunun 'Medeniyetler İttifakı'ndaki Rolü**' konulu doktora tezinin alan çalışmasına veri toplamak için hazırlanmıştır. Katılımcıların isim belirtmeden verecekleri yanıtlar gizli tutulacak olup bu çalışma dışında başka hiçbir amaçla kullanılmayacaktır. Sadece bilimsel amaçlı kullanılacak anket sorularına doğru cevap verilmesi ve ilgili bütün soruların cevaplandırılması çalışmanın sağlıklı sonuçlanması açısından önem taşımaktadır.

Anketimize katıldığınız için teşekkür eder, çalışmalarınızda başarılar dileriz.

Dinçer Özer, Porto Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Bölümü

1. Cinsiyetiniz: ☐ Bay ☐ Bayan
2. Doğum yeriniz: ☐ Türkiye ☐ Almanya ☐ Belçika ☐ Hollanda ☐ Diğer
3. Yaşınız: ☐ 18 Yaşından küçük ☐ 19-35 Yaş aralığı ☐ 36-50 Yaş aralığı ☐ 51-65 Yaş aralığı ☐ 65-üstü
4. Eğitiminizi nerede ve hangi seviyede tamamladınız/sürdürüyorsunuz?

Eğitim Seviyesi	Türkiye	Almanya	Belçika	Hollanda
Okuma-yazma bilmiyor				
İlköğretim				
Lise veya Meslek Lisesi				
Üniversite veya Yüksek Okul				
Yüksek Lisans veya Doktora				

5. Kaç yıldır Almanya/Belçika/Hollanda'da bulunuyorsunuz?

6. Hangi ülke vatandaşınız?

☐ Türkiye ☐ Almanya ☐ Belçika ☐ Hollanda ☐ Çifte Vatandaşlık ☐ Herhangi bir ülkeye ait vatandaşlığım yok

7. Almanya/Belçika/Hollanda'ya hangi amaçla geldiniz? Lütfen size uyan seçeneği işaretleyiniz.

☐ Almanya/Belçika/Hollanda'da doğdum
☐ Aile birleşimi/Evlilik
☐ Çalışmak için
☐ Eğitim için
☐ Siyasi nedenler
☐ Diğer

8. Şu anda herhangi bir işte çalışıyor musunuz?

☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

9. Herhangi bir işte çalışmıyorsanız sebebi nedir?

- ☐ İşsizlik
☐ Emeklilik
☐ Ev hanımı
☐ Doğum izni
☐ Öğrencilik
☐ Sakatlık
☐ Diğer

10. Herhangi bir işte çalışıyorsanız lütfen çalıştığınız sektörün ismini Türkçe olarak belirtiniz. ()

11. Çalıştığınız işten aylık ne kadar ücret alıyorsunuz?

- ☐ 500 Euro'dan daha az
☐ 500-1.000 Euro
☐ 1.000-2.000 Euro
☐ 2.000-3.000 Euro
☐ 3.000-4.000 Euro
☐ 4.000+

12. Ek bir gelirin var mı? (Devletten alınan her türlü yardımı ek gelirinize dâhil ediniz)

- ☐ Evet, lütfen ek gelirinizin miktarını ve kaynağını belirtiniz.
☐ Hayır

13. Evlilik (Medeni) durumunuz nedir?

- ☐ Evli ☐ Bekâr ☐ Dul ☐ Boşanmış ☐ Nişanlı ☐ Birisiyle birlikte veya ayrı yaşıyor ☐ Diğer

14. Evli iseniz eşinizle hangi yolla evlendiniz? Hiç evlenmeyenler lütfen 16. soruya geçiniz.

- ☐ Türkiye kökenli bir erkek/kadın⁷⁶ ile Türkiye'de evlendim
☐ Türkiye kökenli bir erkek/kadın ile Almanya/Belçika/Hollanda'da evlendim
☐ Türkiye kökenli olmayan bir erkek/kadın ile Türkiye'de evlendim
☐ Türkiye kökenli olmayan bir erkek/kadın ile Almanya/Belçika/Hollanda'da evlendim
☐ Diğer

⁷⁶ 'Türkiye kökenli' terimi etnik bir anlam taşımadığı için bu çalışmada göçmenleri tanımlamak için kullanılmıştır.

15. Çocuğunuz var mı?

☐ Evet, lütfen sayı belirtiniz

☐ Hayır

16. Ev içerisinde ve aile bireyleri arasında devamlı hangi dil veya diller konuşulmaktadır?

☐ Sadece Türkçe veya Kürtçe ☐ Sadece Almanca ☐ Sadece Fransızca/Flemenkçe ☐ Hollandaca ☐ Hem anadilde hem de ikinci bir yabancı dilde

17. Bulunduğunuz ülkenin dilini hangi seviyede konuşabiliyorsunuz?

☐ İleri seviye ☐ Orta seviye ☐ Temel Seviye ☐ Hiç bilmiyor

18. Oturduğunuz ev kime aittir?

☐ Kendimize

☐ Belediyeye

☐ Çalıştığımız kuruma veya şirkete (Lojman)

☐ Kiralık konut

☐ Diğer

19. Kendinizi nasıl tarif ediyorsunuz veya hissediyorsunuz? (Lütfen kendinize en yakın gördüğünüz ilk üç (3) aidiyeti sırasıyla numaralandırınız)

☐ Türk veya Kürt ☐ Alevi ☐ Müslüman ☐ Müslüman olmayan

☐ Türkiyeli ☐ Almanyalı/Belçikalı/Hollandalı ☐ Avrupalı ☐

Diğer

20. Kendinizi siyasi görüş olarak nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz? (Lütfen kendinize en yakın gördüğünüz ilk üç (3) siyasi görüşü sırasıyla numaralandırınız)

☐ Muhafazakâr ☐ Demokrat ☐ Sosyal Demokrat ☐ Sağcı ☐

Solcu ☐ Milliyetçi ☐ Liberal ☐ İslamcı ☐ Dindar

☐ Diğer

21. İslam dininin şartları sizin hayatınızda ne kadar önemlidir?

☐ Çok önemli ☐ Önemli ☐ Az önemli ☐ Önemli değil

22. Yaşadığımız ülkeye ait günlük gazeteleri hangi sıklıkla takip ediyorsunuz?

☐ Düzenli ☐ Sıkça ☐ Ara sıra ☐ Nadiren ☐ Hiç okumuyorum

23. Yaşadığınız ülkede Türkçe baskı yapan gazeteleri hangi sıklıkla takip ediyorsunuz?

() Düzenli () Sıkça () Ara sıra () Nadiren () Hiç okumuyorum

24. Yaşadığınız ülkeye ait TV kanallarını hangi sıklıkla izliyorsunuz?

() Düzenli () Sıkça () Ara sıra () Nadiren () Hiç izlemiyorum

25. Yaşadığınız ülkede Türkçe yayın yapan TV kanallarını hangi sıklıkla izliyorsunuz?

() Düzenli () Sıkça () Ara sıra () Nadiren () Hiç izlemiyorum

26. Evinizde veya iş yerinizde internet erişim imkânınız var mı?

() Evet () Hayır

27. Yaşadığınız ülkede Türkiye kökenli ve Türkiye kökenli olmayan bir derneğe veya vâkıfa / derneklere veya vakıflara üye misiniz?

Türkiye Kökenli:
Olmayan:

Türkiye Kökenli

() Evet () Hayır
Hayır

() Evet ()

28. Yaşadığınız ülkede üyesi olduğunuz veya çalışmalarına katıldığınız Türkiye kökenli ve Türkiye kökenli olmayan dernek /dernekler aşağıdaki kategorilerden hangisine girmektedir? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)

Dernek Tipleri	Türkiye Kökenli Dernek	Dernek Tipleri	Türkiye Kökenli Olmayan Dernek
Çevreci		Çevreci	
Dini		Dini	
Eğitim		Eğitim	
Kadın		Kadın	
Mesleki		Mesleki	
Kültür ve sanat		Kültür ve sanat	
Siyasal		Siyasal	
Sosyal		Sosyal	
Spor		Spor	
Diğer		Diğer	

29. Günlük yaşamda çalışmanın/egitimin dışında en çok kimlerle vakit geçirirsiniz?

Sosyal Yaşam Aktiviteleri	Genellikle	Bazen	Nadiren	Hiçbir zaman
Ailemle vakit geçiririm				
Türk arkadaş ve komşularla vakit geçiririm				
Alman/Belçikalı/Hollandalı arkadaşlarla vakit geçiririm				
Diğer				

30. Yaşadığınız ülkede oy kullanma hakkınız var mı?

() Evet () Hayır

31. Yaşadığınız ülkede herhangi bir siyasi partiye üye misiniz?

() Evet () Hayır

32. Yaşadığınız ülkede ilgi duyup desteklediğiniz, sempatzanı olduğunuz veya aktif görevde bulunduğunuz siyasi partiyi işaretleyiniz.

Siyasi Partiler (Almanya)	Sempatzan	Siyasi Partiler (Belçika)	Sempatzan	Siyasi Partiler (Hollanda)	Sempatzan
CDU		N-VA		CDA	
CSU		PS		PvdA	
SPD		CD&V		SP	
FDP		MR		VVD	
DIE LINKE		SP.A		PVV	
GRÜNE		VLD		GroenLinks	
NPD		VB		D66	
-		CDH		-	

33. Desteklediğiniz, sempatzanı olduğunuz veya aktif görevde bulunduğunuz siyasi partinin aşağıdaki faaliyetlerinden hangilerine katıldınız? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)

Faaliyet Alanları	Katılım
Miting	
Pankart asmak	
Yürüyüşe katılmak	
Partinin bir toplantısına veya seminerine katılmak	
El ilanları ve broşür dağıtmak	
Sözlü veya yazılı anlatmak	
Diğer	

34. Yaşadığınız ülkede çıkarlarınızın ve haklarınızın temsil edilip korunduğuna inanıyor musunuz?

() Tamamen inanıyorum () Kısmen inanıyorum () Hiç inanmıyorum

35. Yaşadığınız ülkenin yerel, bölgesel ve ulusal düzeydeki meclislerine toplumsal ve yasal haklarınız için herhangi bir kişisel başvuru yaptınız mı?

() Evet () Hayır

36. Siyasal, sosyal, kişisel inanç ve sorunlarınızdan veya haklarınızdan dolayı herhangi bir kanun maddesi veya uygulamaya karşı yerel/eyalet veya ulusal düzeyde bir kampanya içinde yer aldınız mı?

() Evet () Hayır

37. Bu kampanyanın/kampanyaların nedeni ve kapsamı aşağıdakilerden hangisidir? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)

Nedeni	Yerel	Eyalet	Ulusal	AB
Dini				
Eğitim				
Ekonomik				
İstihdam				
Siyasi				
Spor				
Diğer				

38. Siyasal, sosyal, kişisel inanç ve sorunlarınızdan veya haklarınızdan dolayı herhangi bir kanun maddesi veya uygulamaya karşı yerel/eyalet veya ulusal düzeyde bir dava açtınız mı?

() Evet () Hayır

39. Bu davanın nedeni veya kapsamı aşağıdakilerden hangisidir? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)

Nedeni	Yerel	Eyalet	Ulusal/Federal	AB
Dini				
Eğitim				
Ekonomik				
İstihdam				
Siyasi				
Spor				
Diğer				

40. Yaşadığınız ülkenin anayasal kurumları, seçimleri ve sivil toplum kuruluşları sizin için ne kadar önemlidir?

Kurumsal Yapılar	Çok önemli	Önemli	Az önemli	Önemsiz
Parlamento				
Mahkemeler				
Belediyeler				
Siyasal Partiler				
Siyasal Seçimler				
Avrupa Birliği				
Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesi				
Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları				
Diğer				

41. Yaşadığınız ülkedeki hükümet politikalarını nasıl buluyorsunuz?

Genel olarak;

() Çok iyi () İyi () Kötü () Çok kötü () İlgilenmiyorum

Azınlıklara karşı;

() Çok iyi () İyi () Kötü () Çok kötü () İlgilenmiyorum

42. Yaşadığınız ülkeye ait farklı değerlendirme kriterlerini yeterlilik açısından lütfen sınıflandırınız?

Değerlendirme Kriterleri	Çok yeterli	Yeterli	Yetersiz	Çok yetersiz
İş imkanları açısından				
Hukuk sisteminin işleyişi açısından				
Bireysel ve toplumsal hoşgörü açısından				
Toplumsal kurallara gösterilen saygı açısından				
Ahlaki değerler açısından				
Dinlere ve kültürlere saygı açısından				
Emniyet kuvvetlerinin tutumu açısından				
Herkes için eşit olan temel insan hakları açısından				
Diğer				

43. Yaşadığınız ülkede yabancı olmaktan kaynaklanan temel problemlerinizi önem sırasına göre 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 olarak numaralandırınız?

- ☐ Eğitim eşitsizliği
- ☐ Fırsat eşitsizliği (İstihdam, konut edinme, meslek edinme vb.)
- ☐ Dışlanma, ırkçılık ve önyargı
- ☐ Hukuki, bürokratik ve siyasal engeller
- ☐ Dini ve sosyo-kültürel yaşama karşı engeller
- ☐ Asimilasyon
- ☐ Diğer

44. Yaşadığınız ülkeye uyum sağladığınızı (entegre olduğunuzu) düşünüyor musunuz?

- ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

45. Yaşadığınız ülkede bulunmaktan ve yaşamaktan memnun musunuz?

- ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

46. Almanya/Belçika/Hollanda toplumunun bir parçası olduğunuzu hissediyor musunuz?

- ☐ Tamamen bir parçası gibi hissediyorum
- ☐ Kısmen bir parçası gibi hissediyorum
- ☐ Hiç hissetmiyorum
- ☐ Fikrim yok

47. Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği (AB) üyesi olmasını istiyor musunuz?

- ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

48. Türkiye'nin olası Avrupa Birliği (AB) üyeliğinin 'Medeniyetler İttifakı veya Kültürlerarası Diyaloga' katkı sağlayacağına inanıyor musunuz?

- ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

49. Farklı 'din ve kültürler /din ve kültür mensupları' arasındaki hoşgörü ve diyalog çalışmalarını doğru buluyor musunuz?

- ☐ Doğru buluyorum
- ☐ Kısmen doğru buluyorum
- ☐ Yanlış buluyorum
- ☐ Fikrim yok

50. Yaşadığınız ülkede farklı 'din ve kültürler /din ve kültür mensupları' arasındaki diyalog ve hoşgörü atmosferini artıracak adımları önem sırasına göre sıralayınız.

Kriterler	Çok Önemli	Önemli	Önemli Değil	Fikrim Yok
Sivil toplum kuruluşlarının karşılıklı diyalog çalışmaları yapmaları				
Resmî kurumların diyalogu artırıcı ortam oluşturması ve çalışmaları desteklemesi				
Siyasetçilerin birleştirici üslup ve tavır kullanmaları				
Medyanın birleştiren, kutuplaştırmayan ve rencide etmeyen yayınlar yapması				
Din adamlarının diyalog yanlısı tavır sergilemeleri				
Resmî ve sivil kurumların siyasal, hukuki ve bürokratik vb. ayrımcılık yapmaması				
Bireysel olarak diyalog ve hoşgöründen ödün verilmemesi				
Ders kitapları başta olmak üzere eğitim müfredatında hoşgörü dilinin kullanılması				
Diğer				

51. Farklı kültür ve din mensupları arasındaki diyalogun amaçları arasında sayılabilecek aşağıdaki tespitleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız?

Amaçlar	Çok Önemli	Önemli	Önemli Değil	Fikrim Yok
Birbirini tanımak ve doğru bilgi sahibi olmak				
Diğerini ikna ederek inancına ve hayat tarzına insan kazanmak				
Mevcut ortak problemleri çözmeye çalışmak				
Sevgi, saygı, dostluk ve arkadaşlık ilişkilerini artırmak				
Karşılıklı kişisel çıkarlarını pekiştirmek				
Aşırı milliyetçi akımların veya radikal unsurların önüne geçmek				
Diğer				

52. Avrupa Türk toplumunun ‘Medeniyetler İttifakı veya Kültürlerarası Diyalogdaki’ rolüne ait aşağıdaki tespitlerden hangileri sizce doğrudur? (Lütfen aşağıdaki sonuçlardan katıldıklarınıza ‘D’, katılmadıklarınıza ‘Y’ işareti koyunuz)

- () Türk toplumu, kültür ve din temelinde şekillenen önyargıları ve kutuplaşmaları azaltmaktadır
- () Türk toplumu, karşılıklı barış ve işbirliğini geliştirmektedir
- () Türk toplumu, kendi içindeki radikal siyasi, dini ve ideolojik gruplara karşı mesafeli durmaktadır
- () Türk toplumu, Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini desteklemektedir
- () Türk toplumu, her geçen yıl daha da marjinalleşmektedir
- () Türk toplumu ile Batı toplumları arasındaki ayrışma gittikçe artmaktadır
- () Türk toplumu içindeki dini, siyasi, etnik ve ideolojik gruplar ortak hareket edememekte ve ayrışmaktadır
- () Türk toplumunun ‘Medeniyetler İttifakı’ kapsamında etkin rol alması mümkün görünmemektedir

53. Yaşadığınız toplumda iş ortağınızın, erkek/kız arkadaşlarınızın veya komşularınızın Alman/Belçikalı/Hollandalı olmasında bir sakınca görüyor musunuz?

- () Hayır, hiçbir sakınca görmüyorum. Aksine faydalı olduğunu düşünüyorum
() Evet, sakıncalı görüyorum.
() Ne faydalı ne de sakıncalı görüyorum

54. Avrupa Türk toplumunun sahip olduğu en önemli iç ve dış dinamikler hangileridir? Lütfen önem sırasına göre işaretleyiniz.

İç ve Dış Dinamikler	Çok Önemli	Önemli	Önemli Değil	Fikrim Yok
Hoşgörü kültürü (yaratılanı Yaradan'dan ötürü sevmek kültürü)				
Birlikte yaşama kültürü				
Dinlere ve inananlarına (üç semavi din) karşı saygısı				
Hoşgörü ve diyalog yanlısı devlet adamları				
Hoşgörü ve diyalog yanlısı din adamları				
Hoşgörü ve diyalog yanlısı sivil toplum kuruluşları				
Diğer				

55. Genel olarak 'Medeniyetler Çatışması' tezinin gerçekliğine inanıyor musunuz?

- () Evet () Hayır () Fikrim yok

56. Avrupa Türk toplumu ile Batı toplumları arasında bir kültür ve din çatışmasının olduğuna inanıyor musunuz?

- () İnanıyorum () Kısmen inanıyorum () İnanmıyorum () Fikrim yok

57. Son zamanlarda Avrupa toplumlarında aşırı milliyetçilik, yabancı düşmanlığı ve İslam korkusunun artmaya başladığı tezine katılıyor musunuz?

- () Tamamen katılıyorum () Kısmen katılıyorum () Katılmıyorum

58. Avrupa toplumlarında aşırı milliyetçilik, yabancı düşmanlığı ve İslam korkusunun artmasında aşağıdaki seçeneklerin etkisini önem sırasına göre işaretleyiniz?

Sebepler	Çok etkili	Etkili	Etkisi yok
Ekonomik sorunlardan ve işsizlikten kaynaklanan kaygılar			
Medya aracılığıyla yapılan yayınlar ve dezenformasyon			
11 Eylül ve benzeri terör olayları			
Terör olaylarına karşı Müslümanların tepkilerini yeterince ifade edememeleri			
İnternet ortamında sosyal medya aracılığıyla yapılan propaganda ve kampanyalar			
Siyasi partilerin ve din adamlarının milliyetçi veya dışlayıcı tutum ve söylemleri			
Müslümanlığın Avrupa toplumlarında yayılması			
Göç ve doğumla birlikte artan nüfus			
Göçmenlerin toplumla entegrasyonundaki problemler ve iletişim eksikliği			
İslam dünyasında otoriter rejimlerin baskıcı uygulamaları			
Avrupa vatandaşlarının statü kaybı endişesi ve güvenlik kaygısı			
Diğer			

59. Yaşadığınız toplumda islamafobi veya yabancı düşmanlığı gibi sebeplerden dolayı herhangi bir sözlü tacize veya fiziki saldırıya maruz kaldınız mı?

() Evet () Hayır

60. Dini kimliğinizin/inancınızın veya kültürünüzün toplumla entegrasyonunuzu engellediğine inanıyor musunuz?

() İnanıyorum () Kısmen inanıyorum () İnanmıyorum () Fikrim yok

61. Yaşadığınız toplumda genel olarak karşılaştığınız çifte standart, ayrımcı tavır, davranış ve politikaların sizin hangi kimlik/kültür farklılığınızdan kaynaklandığını düşünüyorsunuz? Lütfen önceliğine göre 1,2,3,4,5 olarak numaralandırınız.

() Etnik kimlik (Türk/Kürt vb.)
() Dini kimlik (Müslümanlık, Alevilik vb.)
() Göçmen kimliği (Yabancı olmak)
() Dini ve kültürel yaşam tarzı ve giyim şekli (Başörtüsü, gelenekler, eğlence vb.)
() Diğer

62. Yaşadığınız toplumda kültürlerarası diyalog ve uyuma hangi toplum/toplumlar daha açık ve isteklidir?

() Türk toplumu () Alman/Belçika/Hollanda toplumu () Her iki toplum () Fikrim yok

63. Yaşadığınız toplumda Türkiye kökenli dini grup ve cemaatlerin kültürlerarası diyalog ve uyuma katkı sağladıklarına inanıyor musunuz?

() Kesinlikle inanıyorum () Kısmen inanıyorum () İnanmıyorum () Fikrim yok

64. Birlikte yaşamaya dair aşağıdaki tespitlerin hangileri sizce doğru ve yanlıştır?

Tespitler	Doğru	Yanlış	Fikrim yok
Benim dinim, kültürüm benim için ne ise onun dini de, kültürü de onun için odur			
Benim değer verdiklerim kadar onun değer verdikleri de saygı değerdir			
Benim fikirlerim en fazla onun fikirleri kadar doğru ve değerlidir			
Herkes aynı şekilde düşünmeli, aynı şekilde yaşamalı, farklılıklar olmamalı ve karşımızda muhalif bulunmamalıdır			
Avrupa Türk toplumuna bir kimlik, bir ideoloji dayatılmamalı ve farklılıkları görmezden gelinmemelidir			
Birlikte yaşamak için her şeyden önce anlaşabilmek/anlaşma yapabilecek bir zemine sahip olunmalıdır			
Kendimiz için istediğimiz, düşündüğümüz, hak olarak gördüğümüz her şeye başkalarının da sahip olması gerektiği kabul edilmelidir			
Avrupa’da birlikte yaşamayı başarmak için Batı tarzı bir birlikteliğe razı olunmalıdır			
Avrupa’da birlikte yaşamak ancak eşit ve denk şartlarda gerçekleşen bir birliktelikle mümkündür			
Batı toplumları yabancılar tarafından istila edilmişlerdir			
Avrupa Avrupalılara aittir			
Batının birlikte yaşamaktan maksadı yabancıların asimile olmasıdır			
Avrupa’da ayrımcılık giderek yükseliyor ve hatta normalleşiyor			

65. Almanya, Belçika ve Hollanda’da yaşayan Euro-Türklerin ‘Medeniyetler Çatışması’ tezini en azından Batı toplumlarında etkisiz kılacak iç ve dış dinamiklere sahip olduklarını düşünüyor musunuz? Lütfen bu konudaki düşüncelerinizi birkaç cümle ile özetleyiniz.

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE FORM IN ENGLISH

This questionnaire is prepared to collect data for the application part of doctoral thesis its title is ‘**The Role of Turkish Society in ‘Alliance of Civilization’ in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands**’ at the Department of Sociology, University of Porto. Responses of participants without specifying the name will be kept confidential and not used with exception of this study for any purpose. These questionnaires that will be used for just scientific purposes, so all questions are given answer correctly is very important for healthy resulting of this study.

Thank you for participating in our survey, wish you success in your studies.

Dinçer ÖZER

1. Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Place of birth: ☐ Turkey ☐ Germany ☐ Belgium ☐ The Netherlands ☐ Others
3. Age: ☐ Less than 18 age ☐ Aged 19-35 years ☐ Aged 36-50 years ☐ Aged 51-65 years ☐ Over 65 Age
4. Where and what level of education did you complete/have keep? Please tick the option which is relevant to you.

Level of Education	Turkey	Germany	Belgium	The Netherlands
Unable to read and write				
Primary and Secondary School				
High and Technical High School				
Undergraduate/College				
Master/PhD				

5. Have long have you been living in Germany/ Belgium/ The Netherlands?

6. Which country citizen are you?

☐ Turkey ☐ Germany ☐ Belgium ☐ The Netherlands ☐ Dual nationality ☐ No any citizenship

7. What purpose have you come to Germany/Belgium/The Netherlands? Please tick the option which is relevant to you.

☐ I was born in Germany/Belgium/The Netherlands
☐ Family reunification/Marriage
☐ To working
☐ Political reasons
☐ To education
☐ If other, please specify.....

8. Do you work currently?

☐ Yes ☐ No

9. If you are not currently working in any job, why?

- ☐ Unemployment
- ☐ Retirement
- ☐ Housewife
- ☐ Maternal leave
- ☐ Student
- ☐ Disability
- ☐ If other, please specify

10. What sector do you currently work in? Please specify in Turkish.....

11. How much do you earn every month?

- ☐ Less than 500 Euro
- ☐ 500-1.000 Euro
- ☐ 1.000-2.000 Euro
- ☐ 2.000-3.000 Euro
- ☐ 3.000-4.000 Euro
- ☐ 4.000 or greater Euro

12. Have you an extra income?

- ☐ Yes, please specify amount and source of your extra income.....
- ☐ No

13. What is marital status?

- ☐ Married ☐ Single ☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐
- Engaged ☐ Separated or living with a person ☐ Others

14. How did you get married with your partner? If you are never married, skip to question 16.

- ☐ I got married with a man/woman of Turkish origin⁷⁷ in Turkey
- ☐ I got married with a man/woman of Turkish origin in Germany/Belgium/The Netherlands
- ☐ I got married with a man/woman of non-Turkish origin in Turkey
- ☐ I got married with a man/woman of non-Turkish origin in Germany/Belgium/The Netherlands
- ☐ If other, please specify.....

⁷⁷ 'A man/woman of Turkish origin' term is used to describe the Turkish migrants in this study, because this term does not carry ethnic meaning.

15. Have you children? How many children do you have?

☐ Yes, please specify number of child/children.....

☐ No

16. What language is spoken at home and among family members constantly?

☐ Only Turkish and Kurdish ☐ Only Germany ☐ Only French/Belgium
language ☐ Only Dutch ☐ Others

17. In which level do you speak the language of host country?

☐ Advanced level ☐ Intermediate level ☐ Basic level ☐ I do not
know

18. Who is the owner of the house you stay?

☐ Ourselves

☐ Municipal

☐ Public housing (provided to employees/workers)

☐ Private rental housing

☐ If other, please specify

19. How do you describe yourself or do you feel? (Please rank in order of
importance)

☐ Turkish or Kurdish ☐ Alevi ☐ Muslim ☐ Non-Muslim ☐
Turkish origin ☐ Germany/Belgian/Dutch ☐ European ☐ If other,
please specify.....

20. How would you describe yourself as a political opinion?

☐ Conservative ☐ Democrat ☐ Social Democrat ☐ Right-wing
☐ Left-wing ☐ Nationalist ☐ Liberal ☐ Islamist ☐
Religious ☐ If other, please specify

21. How much is important religion (Islamic practice) in your life?

☐ Very important ☐ Important ☐ Less important ☐ Not important

22. How often do you follow daily newspapers of the host country where you
live?

☐ Regularly ☐ Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Rarely ☐ I do not read

23. How often do you follow newspapers of Turkish origin in the host country
where you live?

☐ Regularly ☐ Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Rarely ☐ I do not read

24. How often do you watching TV channels in the host country where you live?

☐ Regularly ☐ Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Rarely ☐ I do not watch

25. How often do you watching TV channels of Turkish origin in the host country where you live?

☐ Regularly ☐ Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Rarely ☐ I do not watch

26. Do you have internet access in your home and workplace?

☐ Yes ☐ No

27. Are you member of any association/associations of Turkish origin and non-Turkish origin in the host country?

Turkish Origin:

Non-Turkish Origin:

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ Yes ☐ No

28. Which category does contain association/associations of Turkish origin or non-Turkish origin where you are member or join activities in the host country? (You can mark more than one response)

Types of Associations	Association of Turkish Origin	Types of Associations	Association of Non-Turkish Origin
Environmentalism		Environmentalism	
Religious		Religious	
Education		Education	
Women		Women	
Professional		Professional	
Culture and art		Culture and art	
Political		Political	
Social		Social	
Sports		Sports	
Others.....		Others.....	

29. Where and with whom do you spend the majority of your time in daily life outside of work? (Please rank in order of importance)

- ☐ I spend time with my family
☐ I spend time with Turkish friends and neighbors
☐ I spend time with non-native friends and neighbors
☐ Other, please specify

30. Do you have the right to vote in the host country where you live?

() Yes () No

31. Are you member of a political party in the host country where you live?

() Yes () No

32. Please mark political party where you are interested, supporting and be sympathetic or active member in host country.

Political Party (Germany)	Sympathizer	Political Party (Belgium)	Sympathizer	Political Party (The Netherlands)	Sympathizer
CDU		N-VA		CDA	
CSU		PS		PvdA	
SPD		CD&V		SP	
FDP		MR		VVD	
DIE LINKE		SP.A		PVV	
GRÜNE		VLD		GroenLinks	
-		VB		D66	
-		CDH		-	

33. Which of the following activities have you participated political party where you are supporting and be sympathetic or active member? (You can mark more than one response)

Political Practice Areas	Participation
Rally	
Hang banner	
Participate in a walk	
Attend a meeting and seminar of a political party	
Distribute flyers and brochures	
Oral or written explain	
If other, please specify	

34. Do you believe that your interests and rights are being protected and represented by countries where you live?

() I believe totally/mainly () I believe partially () I do not believe

35. Did you any personal application to the social and legal rights to the local, regional and national councils of the host countries where you live?

() Yes () No

36. Did you have initiated a campaign to your political and social rights, personal beliefs and problem against any the law or practise in the local, regional and national level of host country?

() Yes () No

37. Which are the following reason and scope of this campaign/campaigns? (You can mark more than one response)

Reason	Local	Regional	National	EU
Religious				
Education				
Economic				
Employment				
Political				
Sports				
If other, please specify				

38. Did you get a case to your political and social rights, personal beliefs and problem against any the law or practise in the local, regional and national level of host country?

() Yes () No

39. Which are the following reason or scope of this case/cases? (You can mark more than one response)

Reason	Local	Regional	National	EU
Religious				
Education				
Economic				
Employment				
Political				
Sports				
If other, please specify				

40. How much is important constitutional institutions, elections and civil society organizations of the host country to you?

Constitutional Institutions	Very important	Important	Less important	Not important
Parliaments				
Courts				
Municipalities				
Political Parties				
Political Elections				
European Union				
European Court of Human Rights				
Civil Society Organizations				
If other, please specify				

41. What do you think about the current governmental policies of host country?
In generally;

- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Bad
- ☐ Very bad
- ☐ I am not interested in

Against minorities;

- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Bad
- ☐ Very bad
- ☐ I am not interested in

42. Please classify different evaluation criteria as qualification belongs to host country where you live?

Evaluation Criteria	Very sufficient	Sufficient	Insufficient	Very insufficient
Employment opportunity				
Functioning of legal system				
Individual and social tolerance				
Showing respect for social rules				
Moral values				
Respect for religions and cultures				
Attitudes of police forces				
Basic human rights are equal for everyone				
If other, please specify				

43. What are the most important three problems you face in the countries you are living in because of your foreignness?

- ☐ Inequality of opportunity in education
- ☐ Inequality of opportunity (employment, getting a job and house)
- ☐ Exclusion, racism and prejudice
- ☐ Legal, bureaucratic and political barriers
- ☐ Barriers on religion and socio-economic life
- ☐ Assimilation
- ☐ Other

44. Do you think that you have adapted to the country where you are living in?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

45. Are you happy of being and living in the country where you reside at?
☐ Yes ☐ No
46. Do you feel like a part of the German/Belgium/Dutch society you are living in?
☐ Yes, I do feel I am completely part of
☐ Yes, I do feel I am partly part of
☐ No, I do not feel part of
☐ I have no idea
47. Do you support the membership of Turkey to European Union?
☐ Yes ☐ No
48. Do you believe that Turkey's prospective membership to European Union (EU) will contribute to 'the Alliance of Civilization or intercultural dialogue?
☐ Yes ☐ No
49. Do you think that it correct to establish tolerance and dialogue between the members of different religions and culture?
☐ I do
☐ I partially consider it right/wrong
☐ I do not
☐ I have no idea
50. Please list the steps you think would increase the atmosphere of dialogue and tolerance among the members of different religions and cultures (Please rank in order of importance)
- ☐ The civil society organizations to conduct more policies for mutual dialogue
 - ☐ the official institutions' support of the dialogue
 - ☐ The politicians' behaviours to be more into dialogue
 - ☐ Publications by media in which they make unifying and peaceful news
 - ☐ Religious men's behaviours to be more into dialogue
 - ☐ The ending of the legal, bureaucratic and political discriminations of civil and official institutions
 - ☐ As individual continue to dialogue and tolerance
 - ☐ The usage of tolerance language in the educational curriculum
 - ☐ If other, please specify
51. Please list in an order some statements that could be counted as the aims of dialogue between the members of different cultures and religions (Please rank in order of importance)
- ☐ Knowing each other and having the correct information
 - ☐ Adding people to one side's life style by convincing the others

- ☐ Solving common problems
- ☐ Increasing friendship relations
- ☐ Increasing the 'mutual self-interests'
- ☐ Preventing radicalism and extremism

52. Which ones of the following statements are right or wrong in terms of the role of the European Turkish society in Alliance of Civilizations an Intercultural Dialogue?

- ☐ The Turkish society has a role to decrease the prejudice and polarization in Europe
- ☐ The Turkish society has a role to develop peace and cooperation in Europe
- ☐ The Turkish society remains distant to radical political, religious and ideological groups within itself
- ☐ The Turkish society supports Turkey's membership to European Union
- ☐ The Turkish society is marginalizing each year
- ☐ The distinction between the Turkish and Western societies is increasing
- ☐ The Turkish society cannot act together because of different religious, political, ethnic and ideological groups within it
- ☐ The Turkish society is not possible to take an active role in 'alliance of civilization and intercultural dialogue'

53. Do you think it is appropriate to have a German/Belgian/Dutch partner, business associate, boyfriend/girlfriend or neighbour?

- ☐ No, I do not consider it as a problem. On the contrary, I think it is useful
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Partly Yes or No

54. What do you think are the most important dynamics of European Turkish society has in terms of tolerance and dialogue?

- ☐ The culture of tolerance
- ☐ Culture of coexistence
- ☐ Respect to religions and members of religion
- ☐ Politicians of Turkish origin are favour of tolerance and dialogue
- ☐ Religious leaders of Turkish origin are favour of tolerance and dialogue
- ☐ Civil society organizations of Turkish origin are favour of tolerance and dialogue

55. Do you generally believe the truth of the 'Clash of Civilizations' thesis?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

56. Do you believe that there is a clash of culture and religion between the European Turkish society and the Western societies?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

57. Do you agree with the thesis that extreme nationalism, xenophobia and fear of Islam have increased in the European societies lately?

- ☐ I completely agree
- ☐ I partly agree
- ☐ I do not agree
- ☐ I have no idea

58. Which reasons/situations below that effect the increase of nationalism, xenophobia and Islamophobia in European nations by the order of its importance?

- ☐ Economic problems and worries about unemployment
- ☐ Media publications and disinformation
- ☐ September 11 (2001) and similar terror events
- ☐ Lack of self-expression of Muslims after the terror events
- ☐ Propaganda and campaigns on social media and internet
- ☐ Nationalist or discriminative attitudes or behaviour of politics or religious figures
- ☐ Spread of Islam in Western nations
- ☐ Increase of the foreign population by births and immigrating
- ☐ Problems about integration of the immigrants to society and lack of communication
- ☐ Oppressive behaviours of strict regimes in Islam world
- ☐ Loss of status and worry of security by the host nations
- ☐ Others

59. Have you been exposed to any verbal abuse or physical attack because of reasons such as Islamophobia and xenophobia in the community where you live in?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

60. Do you believe that your religious identity or culture prevents your integration with the society?

- ☐ I believe
- ☐ I believe partly
- ☐ I do not believe
- ☐ I have no idea

61. Which identity/cultural difference do you think is the reason of double standards, discriminative attitude, behaviour and policies in the society you are living?

- ☐ Ethnic identity (Turkish/Kurdish and etc.)
- ☐ Religious identity (be Muslim)
- ☐ Immigrants identity (be foreign)
- ☐ Religious and cultural life and dressing style (headscarf, tradition and etc.)

62. Which community or communities are more open and willing to intercultural dialogue and integration where you live in?

- ☐ Turkish community
- ☐ German/Belgium/Dutch communities
- ☐ Both communities
- ☐ I have no idea

63. Do you believe that religious groups and communities in your society which are of Turkey origin contribute to intercultural dialogue and harmony?

- ☐ I definitely believe
- ☐ I partly believe
- ☐ I do not believe
- ☐ I have no idea

64. What do you think is correct or wrong of the statements about coexistence below?"

- ☐ Whatever my religion and culture means to me is the same for the religions and cultures of others to them
- ☐ If the things I value are worthy, so others' values are worth to respect
- ☐ My ideas are as true and valuable as his/her ideas
- ☐ Everyone should think in the same way, live in the same way, there should be no diversities and we should not have any opposition
- ☐ An ethnic or religious identity or ideology should not be imposed for European Turkish society, and also their diversities should not be neglected
- ☐ To live together, before everything, there should be a common ground to live and agree
- ☐ We should accept that anything we want, think or consider as a right for ourselves should also be possessed by others
- ☐ We have to abide to Western style cohesion in order to succeed the coexistence in Europe
- ☐ Living together is only possible with combination on equal and equivalent conditions in Europe
- ☐ Western societies have been invaded nearly by foreigners
- ☐ Purpose of live together is assimilating foreigners in eyes of the European
- ☐ Discrimination is increasing and becoming normal every day in Europe

65. Do you think that Turks living in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands have a role to disable the thesis of Clash of Civilizations at least in Western societies? Please summarize your thoughts in a few sentences on this topic.

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN TURKISH AND ENGLISH

Soru 1. Avrupa’da baş gösteren ekonomik krizlerle birlikte daha da artan aşırı milliyetçilik, yabancı düşmanlığı ve İslam korkusu karşısında ne tür tedbirler alıyorsunuz? Türkiye kökenliler ile ev sahibi toplumlar arasında kutuplaşmayı artıran bu üç gelişmeyi sebep ve sonuçları açısından nasıl bir değerlendiriyorsunuz?

Soru 2. Ev sahibi toplumla hangi alanlarda iletişime önem veriyorsunuz? İletişimin gerekliliğine inanıyor musunuz? Örnekler verebilir misiniz?

Soru 3. S. Huntington, ‘*Medeniyetler Çatışması*’nın sadece uluslar arası arenada değil, farklı kültürlerle sahip grupların yaşadığı Batılı toplumlarda da ortaya çıkabileceğini iddia etmiştir. Sizce Avrupa Türk toplumu ile Batılı toplumlar arasında bu anlamda bir çatışma gerçekleşir mi? Böyle bir gelecek öngörmüyorsanız, neden?

Soru 4. Avrupa Türk toplumunda olan ve olabilecek radikal ve aşırı eğilimlere karşı tavrınız nedir? Radikal eğilimlere karşı ne tür tedbirler alıyorsunuz? Örnekler verir misiniz?

Soru 5. Ev sahibi toplumlarla diyalog içerisinde bir arada yaşamının olmazsa olmazları nelerdir? Avrupa Türk toplumu birlikte yaşama konusunda bir mesafe almış mıdır? Sizce Avrupa Türk toplumu diyalogun geliştirilmesi adına Batı ile Müslüman ülkeler arasında bir köprü vazifesi görebilir mi?

.....

Question 1. What type of precautions do you take to deal with extremist nationalism, xenophobia and Islamophobia in Europe after the economic crises? How do you evaluate these three developments that increase the polarization between the Turks and the host societies?

Question 2. In what areas do you communicate with the host society? Do you believe in the necessity of communication? Can you give some examples?

Question 3. S. Huntington has claimed that “Clash of Civilizations” might appear not only at international arena, but also in Western societies where different cultural groups coexist. Do you think that such a conflict might happen between the European Turkish society and the Western societies? If you do not predict such a thing, why?

Question 4. What is your attitude towards the radical and extremist tendencies which exist or might exist in the European Turkish society? What kind of precautions do you take against the radical tendencies? Can you give any examples?

Question 5. What are the prerequisites of coexisting with the host societies in a dialogue? Did the European Turkish society make any progress about coexistence? Do you think that the European Turkish society might act as a bridge between the West and Muslim countries in order to develop the dialogue?